

The Sculpture of The Kakatiyas

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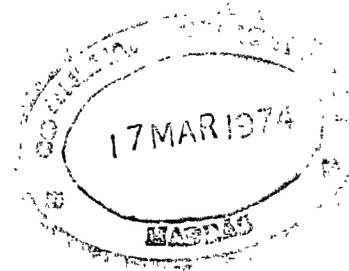
FOREWORD

The powerful dynasty of Kakatiyas which succeeded Chalukyas of Kalyani ruled over Deccan from Circa, 950 A.D. to Circa 1160 A.D. They were great warriors and declared their independence in the middle of 12th century and ruled over a vast dominion from their capital at Warangal. They were great patrons of Art, Architecture and Literature and to this day in most of the villages of Telangana one can see the beautiful temples erected by the munificence of these rulers. The architecture of the temples built by them is indeed lofty and grand and there is decidedly a sense of proportion and symmetry. The temples constructed during their hegemony represent the full development of the medieval Dekhani style which Fergusson has termed "Chalukyan" but Mr. Havell in his enthusiastic analysis of symbolism in Indian architecture, speaks of this designation as "delusive", but the reasons which led Fergusson to adopt the term were that the style developed its distinctive feature during the reign of the Chalukya dynasty that it flourished in the country which was under their sway. If the influence of Chalukya dynasty is not considered to be the main factor in the evolution of the style the term 'Chalukyan' might be changed for Dekhani, which can be the only appropriate name for this style.

The temple complexes at Ramappa, Pangal and Nagulpad etc., are indeed chef-d'oeuvre of the Kakatiya period and represent the brightest stars in the galaxy of medieval Deccan temples. The sculptures of this period are characterised by joyous exuberance of fancy. For the play of light and shade the surface of the wall has been divided both vertically and horizontally by most interesting devices, comprising an infinite series of projecting pilasters adorned vertically with lace work of crisp moulding and delicate sculptures. The subject consists of floral devices, architectural motifs, and religious themes from Mahabharata, Ramayana and Puranas. The floral devices which are nicely delineated in these temples show infinite industry and patience and the total effect is absolutely marvellous in the minuteness of detail and the beauty of finish. The mythological stories have been deftly carved with consummate skill and feeling and show great ingenuity on the part of the artists. The sculptures carved during this period are superb. For instance the scene represented on a door panel of the temple at the western end of the Ramappa lake band in which sylvan deity standing in front is shown removing a thorn from her foot is full of life and exhibits wonderful conception on the part of the artists.

I am thankful to my learned friend Sri S. Gopalakrishna Murthy for writing the monograph on the sculptures of Kakatiya period which I am sure will be very much welcomed by the scholars. My thanks are due to Sri S. R. Ramamurthy, Secretary to Government, Education Department, Hyderabad and Dr. N. Ramesan, Secretary to Government, Finance Department for giving their valuable assistance and guidance for making the departmental publications' programme a success. In the end I am thankful to the officers and the staff of the Text-book Press for getting this monograph published in record time.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Though sculpture started in ancient India as an art quite distinct from architecture, it developed as a handmaid of architecture in the Buddhist period and in South India during the Pallava and Chalukyan periods. The Rashtrakutas constructed few temples and got made fewer sculptures in the round. The Buddhists and Jains caused the carving of figures in the round but theirs were gradually failing movements. The temples of Kanchi, Badami, Pattadakal and Malkhed kept the lamp of sculpture eburning brightly and it was at that stage that the Kakatiyas sprung up almost 'from the soil'. The efxtant Jain temple-patterns which they had at first adopted provided very little scope for even relief sculptures to develop. With independence and the consequent enlightenment, enthusiasm suggested prefabrication of decorative sculpture as also of temple architecture. Architecture and sculpture developed side by side and simultaneously. The story of Kakatiya sculpture is therefore intertwined with the story of their architecture.

I strove to present the story of the sculpture of the Kakatiyas, and if I had to deviate into descriptions of architecture, it was only to make the former clear enough but not to force an unnecessary embellishment on it.

Excavation in and near Warangal, secular as well as archaeological, is demonstrating everyday that very large number of good sculptures of the Kakatiyas had completely gone into the earth by sheer weight. Nevertheless, we can be fairly certain of the coverage of the salient types of their art by a study of the pieces available in arranged rows in the Museums of Kolanupaka, Golconda, Hyderabad, Warangal, Madras and Delhi and in a scattered disorder on ruins and [why not ?] in living temples all over the Andhra Pradesh. I am indebted to the many friends, who walked with me along inconvenient paths of enable me to photograph most of the relevant material. Mine is only a beginning and I thank the Director of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh, Sri Abdul Waheed Khan, for kindly accepting this small monograph for publication.

Rajamundry,
Dated 15-1-1964.

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THE SCULPTURE OF THE KAKATIYAS

I. EARLY PERIOD

The Kakatiyas were that line of princes, who ruled over the regions round Hanumakonda and Warangal from about 1050 A. D. to 1323 A. D. The reason for their choice to be called Kakatiyas is not yet definitely known. A story in two or three (stone) records of their times says that it was derived from a town called 'Kakati,' where their great ancestor Karikala Chola once happened to pitch his camp. A number of other records mention a Kakatipura, and a village 'Kraka' in the Nellore district could very well fit into this tradition. It is in a region ruled by the early Cholas, it has the twin temples of Ekavira and her associate¹ Kakati, particularly worshipped by the Kakatiyas, and Durjaya the second great traditionally famous prince of the family could very well have hailed from that place. The second story mentioned in one or two literary works is that the family name of the Kakatiyas was derived from a deity, 'Kakati' worshipped by the princes of the line. This deity was actually Chamunda of the Saptamatrikas, named differently by Telugu ruling families (the Reddis named her Moolagooramma). So, in all probability, she would have been called Kakatamma in Kakatipura, from which the family would have migrated northwards in search of fortune. We hear even now, a number of names of village deities in north Nellore², deriving from the names of the villages themselves.

'Kakartya Gundyana' is the earliest prince known to us with that family name attached to his own. He was a feudatory of the Eastern Chalukyan king Amma II. His grandfather and father were Gundiya 'Rashtrakuta' and Eriya 'Rashtrakuta' respectively. That suffix 'Rashtrakuta' can be interpreted either as connecting those two persons with the imperial Rashtrakutas or merely as denoting their prominent citizenship, the word 'Rashtrakuta' having been applied extensively in records, to householders of a village. But, the omission of that earlier suffix for Gundyana, and the addition of the family name in its place leads one to doubt if Gundyana had, for some reason or other, offended the Rashtrakutas and joined their enemy, the Chalukya King Amma II. Beta I, a Kakativallabha³ himself, was probably a close descendant of Gundyana and he got into difficulties in the political confusion that followed Amma's death. Errana of the Viriyala family (also claiming his descent from the famous Durjaya) husband of Kamasani, saved his kingdom by killing his enemy in a battle and installed Beta at Koravi. A literary chronicle Prataparudra Charitram, written after the fall of the Kakatiya dynasty, mentions

1. Vallabharaya—Kridabhiramam.

కాకతమ్మకు నై దోడుపకవీర

2. See Nellore inscriptions.

3. Gudur inscription in 'Telangana Inscriptions'.

a queen Kuntali of Hanumakonda, a paternal aunt of Erukudeva, installing that young man as ruler at Hanumakonda. The Gudur stone record tells us of Errana's help to Beta and again, of his wife Kamasani's help to Beta by opposing a Pallava prince, and intervening (on Beta's behalf) and re-establishing the Kakati dynasty. One is naturally tempted to equate Kamasani with Kuntali and Erukudeva with Beta I and that explains how Beta got back to Hanumakonda and started the Kakatiya line of rulers at that place.

It was perhaps, after his settling down at Hanumakonda, that he fought a successful battle with a Choda King. Beta was noted for the speed of his horse, a "veritable Garuda" as he was called in the Ekamranatha temple inscription of Kanchi. Beta's son Prola was a feudatory of the Western Chalukyan King Trilokyamalla Somesvara and he subdued the rulers of Chakrakoota, Bhadranga, Purakoo and Konkan⁴ for his overlord. In recognition of this meritorious service, the king gave him the Hanumakonda fife (wherein he was already installed by his aunt), through an official order. Prola could even assume the title of his lord 'Trilokyamalla' along with his other titles. He extensively developed the region around Hanumakonda by making it habitable and constructed tanks⁵ to bring large tracts of land under the plough. Prataparudra Charitram mentions a Dravidian queen of his. She brought her favourite deity Panchalaraya, and constructed a temple and a village in his name. Prola might have gone to Kanchi with the invading army of the Western Chalukyas, and he was profoundly influenced by the temples there. He was said to have, on his return, constructed several temples in Gangapuram of the Mahboobnagar District. This could be an exaggeration but the introduction of Vishnu (Panchalaraya) in Hanumakonda is significant in view of the intense Shaiva atmosphere prevailing there on account of Rameswara Dikshita⁶ the great scholar of Lakulisvaragama.

CHAMUNDA OR KAKATI

In 1070 A. D. Prola was succeeded by his son Beta II, contemporary and feudatory of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramaditya. His minister Vaijadandanatha helped him to propitiate the emperor and obtained for him the Sabbi region.⁷ Beta made several constructions at Hanumakonda. Betesvaram, a Siva temple in his name (about 1079 A. D.), Sivapura, a bathing-place and a garden are mentioned in his records. Prataparudra Charitram mentions that Beta was a great devotee of Kakati and had a son Prola through her boon. Beta was called 'the lord of Hanumakonda'⁸ and this indicates clearly that he settled down at Hanumakonda. He was probably responsible for the construction of the mud wall of the fort of Hanumakonda, for raising the high stone arches (fig. 1), now seen at the entrance and exit of the fort, and for improving it generally. This Beta II was a devotee of Kakati, the family deity of his line. From the wide prevalence of the installation of the figure of Chamunda all over the Kakatiya

4. Kazipet record.

5. A 'Jagatkesari' is mentioned in the Motupalli record.

6. See the Madireddikunta record.

7. Padmakshi hill record.

8. The Kazipet inscription.

dominions, the writer inferred that Kakati was perhaps only another name for Chamunda of the Saptamatrukas. But Chamunda is not now known by the name Kakati anywhere in the Hanumakonda region. How then could we believe that Chamunda was Kakati? A large grazing field near Dondapadu in the present Muktyala region (Kistna District) is, (according to the information of late Sri V. Prabhakara Sastri), named after Kakatamma and the stone figure lying on that field could be Kakatamma. Though Sri Sastry did not recognise it, this figure is Chamunda with her fox symbol below her seat. She holds in her four arms, the trident, *damaru*, a sword and a dish of blood, in the same way as Chamunda does in the Saptamatruka sculptures. But this figure of Dondapadu is only 'two feet' high. It could not have formed the idol of a temple for worship. Kridabhiramam, a Telugu poem of the fifteenth century which describes Warangal of those days, mentions six places consecrated by the dual presence of Ekavira and her accomplice Kakatamma. Ekavira is Renuka, wife of Jamadagni. Due to a lapse in her devotion, her husband ordered Parasurama, their son, to cut off her head. When this was done with the axe, the severed head flew off and fell in the quarters of the outcastes. Parasurama's prayer for the restoration of the life of his mother could not therefore be granted by Jamadagni. In lieu of that boon, Jamadagni granted that the head would be worshipped by the working classes thereafter. The head is generally known as Ellamma and the body as Renuka or Bhudevi. Both are worshipped as forms of Ekavira. The Telugu poem quoted above mentions a Mandapaka as one of the six places where both Kakatamma and Ekavira are found together. In that village (of the present West Godavari District), in a temple, we see a beautiful figure of a seated lady. She holds in her four arms, the weapons of Chamunda and below her seat is carved a frail fox (fig. 2, Pl. I). This figure is called Ellamma or Ellamma (that is Renuka), by the villagers. This name cannot be correct. Near her however, there is a stone head, also worshipped though not prominently named. This one is Ellamma, Ellamma or Renuka, while the other full figure is Chamunda. This latter one therefore is Kakatamma, said to be the associate of Renuka or Ekavira in the poem Kreedabhirama. Attirala in the Cuddapah district is known as Ekavira Kshetra in a Chokkanatha Charitra (composed by a Telugu poet of Madurai) where also we see Chamunda. Parasuramesvara is there, though the head of Renuka is not seen. But, on the hill there is a version of Ekavira in stone with snakes about her. This association of Ekavira and Chamunda is also found in Alampur, near Kurnool* and Gudimallam near Renigunta.

This persisting association of Ekavira and Chamunda in several shrines, when taken together with the testimony of Kreedabhirama, a work of those times, points emphatically at this Chamunda being identical with Kakati, which was only another name adopted by the Kakatiyas.

In the Hanumakonda fort we see from within, carved on a big boulder to the north, in medium relief, a huge figure of Chamunda with multiple hands. Under a small tree in the same fort, is seen a figure of Chamunda (fig. 3) in high relief. The weapons held by her multiple hands are lost but the sword in her prominent right hand and a dish of blood in her prominent left are unmistakable. She has

*The Balabrahmesvara temple there, was originally a temple for a female deity Jogulamba or Yogeswari. Otherwise lady attendants would not be carved on the door jambs. This Jogulamba is a more grotesque form of Chamunda with a heap of hair containing a skull, lizard and a scorpion, fearful tusks, garland of skulls, emaciated blood-thirsty body and pendent breasts, but she is seen seated on a corpse as Chamunda is found to be in several places like Biccavol, Arasavalli, Jaipur, etc. She was removed from the sanctum of the bigger temple and is installed now in a small temple to the south-east of the shrine. Ekavira or Renuka is in a small temple opposite the main shrine, (as she was originally installed) in the shape of a headless female body, stark naked.

a corpse as her vehicle, an open mouth showing her horrid teeth, protruding eyes, multiple arms and a famished body. These attributes are as mentioned in Vishnudharmothara. The dish of blood in her left hand is described in Poorvakaranagama. Her leg positions, fold for one and suspension for the other are as specified by Amsumadbhedagama. Poorvakaranagama endows Chamunda with a crescent on the head, three eyes and an owl vehicle, Amsumadbhedha with a garland of skulls and Agnipurana with dishevelled hair. When She is in the group of Saptamatrikas, she always has a fox as her vehicle, and there are quite a number of sculptures which shows a fox below Chamunda.

CHAMUNDA OF THE SAPTAMATRIKA PANELS

I do not know if Saptamatrikas were ever carved in life sizes in the early Western Chalukyans Capitals, but there are fairly big-sized figures in the Balabrahmesvara (a Chalukya) temple of Alampur. Chamunda of that group has dishevelled hair, third eye, protruding eyes, open mouth with side tusks projecting out, pendent breasts, garland of skulls, snake ornaments, and the fox symbol. The four characteristic weapons trisula, *damaruka*, sword and the dish of blood are in the four hands and her left foot is hanging down instead of the right. This figure as well as the other one of Yogesvari are obviously cult figures carved to embellish the ancient temple of Yogeswari now called Balabrahmesvara. We see Chamunda in Rashtrakuta Sculpture. The Rashtrakutas were not so particular of preserving the animal forms of deities, and so we see in Ellora their Narasimha with human hands, Mahishasura with a human face and horns only for his helmet (instead of the buffalo head with its natural horns as the Pallava, Chola and Orissan sculptures show) and Varahi with a human face. No wonder therefore if the Rashtrakuta Chamunda of Ellora does not have a disagreeable face, with tusks, spreading hair, etc. What is more, she has a presentable form and an owl as her symbol. The Nagarjunakonda panel also shows an owl below Chamunda and it might be of Rashtrakuta origin or period. We see a very interesting red sandstone Chalukyan Chamunda at Vengi. She has two hands, a fox below her in a clear cut rectangular frame as at Ellora, and two chauri-bearers on either side of her head. This figure is the only one with this distinction⁹, which was borrowed from Buddha or Jaina traditions.

The Chalukyas of Kalyan grouped the matrikas into a single panel as the Rashtrakutas did in the Ellora reliefs. The interesting panel at Koravi, is perhaps an earlier panel. Chamunda in this panel has her hair spread out as a *prabha* behind her head, a fearful face and a fox in the same characteristic pose as the one at Vengi. The Chalukyan Garuda (resembling the Badami one), and Varahi with her frontal pig-snout as at Yelamanchili (in Visakhapatnam district) indicate this Koravi panel as an eastern Chalukyan make. The influence of Rashtrakutas is evident in the oval *prabhas* and the disregard of tradition in putting Vinayaka near Brahmi instead of near Chamunda. The lower right hands of these deities are lifted up into an *abhaya mudra*, instead of holding weapons. In the Hyderabad Museum, there are two panels of the matrikas and the one, which has only a rough finish is from modern Pattancheru, then known as Potlacheruvu. This one is similar to the Koravi one except in the positions of Veerabhadra and Vighneswara. The second one is of smoother finish and shows oval *prabhas*. A small panel built in at the eastern stone doorway of the Warangal fort is after the Hoyasala patterns but not with that shock of jewelry.

⁹ Vengi has another distinction in that it possesses a red sandstone temple with a stepped pyramidal *sikhara* appearing to rise over a lower *garbhaya*.

Chamunda, as indicated already, was specially worshipped under the name of Kakati and except at places demanding cult figures (like the Hanumakonda fort) she was made in agreeable forms. We see her even now in Manthani, Hanumakonda town, Warangal, Ainavolu, Mellacheruvu, Vardhamana, Ulindakonda, Doranala, Bhogapuram (Vishaka district), Mandapaka, Muktyala, Bapatla, Brahmana Kraka, Chinakraka, Nellore, Gudimallam, Madanapalli, Tangutur (Cuddapah District), Attirala, Rayachoti, Somasila, Rapur, and hundred other places then included in the Kakatiya empire. Any village deity—‘Ammavaru’—can now be identified as Chamunda. The Kakatias were mainly responsible for the spread of her worship throughout the Andhra Pradesh, though we find her being called under all sorts of names and endowed with odd attributes at some places. At Devagudi in the Cuddapah District (very near the Jain place Danavulapadu), she is given a buffalo vehicle and called Talakantamma. It is not possible to attribute these departures to the adaptation of Chamunda by Jains as a Yakshini for one of their tirthankaras. The general ignorance of tradition alone might have given rise to such odd forms. One figure made with wrong attributes lies (discarded for worship) in the antechamber at the Chundi temple in the Nellore district. On the other hand, numerous local chieftains in the Nellore district have given her slightly different attributes and quite different names. Kalugolamma of Kavali, Irugolamma of Nellore, Chengalamma of Sullurpet are but a few examples.

KAMAKSHI

The story of the adaptation of Chamunda by the metal smiths as Kamakshi is interesting. A Telugu poem Dharmapalayijayam describes how a bronze smith of Kalyan migrated to Kanchipuram on the advice of a mendicant, to sell his ware. A daughter of the then Chola king of Kanchi took a burnished mirror from his shop and when his son went to the king's palace to collect the cost, he was attacked by the guard at the instance of the officious minister. Being an adept in the *mantra sastra*, the youngman could beat down all his assailants with the weighing rod (Roman type) and escaped unhurt to his house to alert his brothers and father. A second attack too proving a failure, the king sought the advice of the mendicant, and learnt the secret that the smith's family do not handle any weapons on Saturday as it was the day of their worship and penance. The king used this clue to lure the three sons to the palace under the pretence of arranging payment, got them buried upto their necks and cut off their heads. The heads flew up, with blood threading down their necks and revelled in shouting ruin to the king. The grief-stricken father remonstrated to the mendicant, who had previously advised their migration to Kanchi. The mendicant and the old father were great devotees of Kamakshi (who was only Chamunda) and they repaired to her temple and prayed. The divine mother appeared before them, and asked them to put the three heads below her feet on her pedestal, and the bodies to be lined across the door of her temple. This having been done she endowed the bodies with new heads and lives. The grateful father prayed to her to permit the heads below her feet to be in the same positions they were. She granted the boon and to this day, in one of the Kamakshi temples of Kanchi, wherein the priests are metal smiths, we see the heads carved below the deity on her pedestal, and the water of ablution, sanctified by the touch of the Devi's feet flows over the heads of the three brave sons of the bronze-smith. In Nellore, we see a pedestal with three heads carved on it in Kataripalempeta and in 1355 A. D. one Aitaraju installed at Alampur a Kamakshi with her four hands holding the characteristic weapons of Chamunda and with the row of three heads below her feet. At Kandukur in the Nellore district we see another Kamakshi idol, of big size with the three heads below her seat (Fig. 4, Pl. I).

II. PROLA II

Beta II was succeeded by his son Prola II round about 1110 A.D. This prince was a great fighter and an able general. The Kakatiyas were well known as very good fighters and their empire was won by fighting. Beta I, Prola I and Beta II were very good warriors and soldiers. Prola II excelled his predecessors. He defeated Govinda Raja, who ruled Kondapalli and its surroundings and gave that region to Udaya (Choda). Gundaraja of Manthani attacked him but was defeated ultimately and driven back. The *varaha* symbol¹⁰ of the Kakatiyas was scorched on his chest. The generals and ministers of the Kakatiyas were the best any line of kings had the good fortune of possessing. They were loyal to the core in developing the regions round Hanumakonda, and keeping off the enemy by strength and strategy. It was the strong co-ordination of this threefold efficiency that achieved a vast empire for the Kakatiyas. Due to some cause yet unknown, Prince Tailapa of Kalyan, who was ruling the regions round Kollipaka, came into conflict with Prola, the feudatory of the Chalukyas. Prola gave battle, surrounded the prince, showed him that he was dealing with superior military strength, and released him. A certain 'Hemadri' ordered his trusted feudatory Jagaddeva ruling the Vemulavada region, to invade Hanumakonda and bring the rising Kakatiyas to submission. Jagaddeva was a great soldier and a powerful general, who constructed the Jagaddeva Narayana temple at Kollipaka. He scored initial successes, penetrated into the Hanumakonda fife and besieged the capital. Prola himself was a great fighter and an able general who had loyal subjects. He withdrew into his fort, organised his men and materials and at an opportune moment pressed a counter attack and routed the enemy and thus converted an obvious defeat into a success.

The advantage of this success was fully utilised and the enemy's territory was effectively brought under Kakatiya control. After Jagaddeva, the region round Kollipaka was ruled by Prola II. Prola, encouraged by all these successes, invaded the Velanadu kingdom south of Krishna and was killed in action (as is indicated by the title 'Kakati Prola Nirdahana' of the Velanadu Chief Choda II).

At home in Hanumakonda, Prola was not wanting in the arts of peace. That period was one of Saivite migration from the north to South, probably due to the scare created by the invasions of Mahammad of Ghazni. The invader, revelled in killing the priest class of the temples and hence these came down to south from the Ganga-Narmada regions.¹¹ A mendicant Tridandi, who arrived at Hanumakonda was greatly honoured by Prola (according to local records) and settled on the hill six miles west of Hanumakonda, in the 'Hidimbashrama' the present day Madikonda hill.

Prola's queen installed, on a hill in the north-west of Inugurti, Siva in his Jalandhara Bhairava, aspect. The figure is a life-sized relief carved in a cave (fig. 5 Pl. I). The multiple hoods of a snake rise

10. We hear of this boar symbol only in the records. This is not seen in sculpture. The Varaha was the symbol of the Chalukyas, Kakatiyas and also of the Vijayanagar kings from Atchutaraya downwards.

11. Ganapavaram record—186, Kakatiya Sanchika and Malkapuram record.

behind the head, a *damaru* and a trident are just recognisable. There is also another figure of equal size in action evidently against the demon. The pose is somewhat like that of 'Andhakasura Samharaka Siva' at Alampur. Siva had sprung up from the *ahdha* posture and his right hand appears to be holding some weapon to strike with.

'Ramaranya Sripada' or Ramesvara Deekshita and Mahendra, renowned scholar of Saivagamas settled at Kalesvaram on the Godavary. Ramesvara was the religious guide to the Kakatiya king Prola II and he constructed several temples and Saivite establishments.¹² The Kalesvaram shrine was perhaps founded by him. The sculpture of Annapurna (fig. 6 Pl. I), consort of Visvesvara and giver of food to mortals, could have been installed by him. I did not see Annapurna yet in South Indian sculpture. Here she sits with her right leg in the *pralamba* position with the left in a folded position. She has a bejewelled crown and ear rings of precious stones, a jewelled graiveya round her neck and a hara symbolically conveying that she is the Mother of the world. She has high breasts. She has Keyuras and Kankanas; in her left hand, she has a vessel of food and in her right, a spoon with a long handle for serving food. She has a Vanamala, a unique distinction. This figure rises as a bold relief above a plain *parikara* (or back-slab) and a second figure, probably installed by a royal pilgrim who visited Varanasi, is obviously a later addition, showing as it does the crown of Veerasaiva origin. She too has just the attributes mentioned above, but is carved with greater skill. The close tiaras of her crown derive, I feel, from Hoysala influence.

SWAYAMBHU SIVA

Warangal appears to have been developed as an outpost of Hanumakonda in this Prola's times. Local records say that a double bullock cart bound for Hanumakonda toppled over a stone at the place of the present Sambhunigudi in Warangal, late one evening. The cartmen had to wait till next morning for help and then they discovered to their surprise that the iron tyre of the struck wheel had turned into gold! This was reported to the king and he arrived along with the pontiffs of Hidimbarama and Kaleswaram. The stone that was responsible for the toppling of the cart as well as the miracle, was recognised to be a linga of Parasuvedi, a stone of supernatural powers and the king was advised to raise a temple round it. The linga was called Swayambhusiva, because it appeared (naturally) by itself and was not installed by men. A temple, the present Sambhunigudi, was raised and a small township grew around it. Toppling over of a cart is described in Telugu as falling 'Oragallu' ('the kallu or axle fell sideways to the earth'). The place where the cart fell was named 'Oragallu' and was pronounced 'Orugallu'.¹³ I believe that the little flat temple on the top of the Ekasila in Warangal fort was raised already and used by Jains, who climbed up its difficult path to worship one of their tirthankaras installed in that flat temple with no sculptured ornamentation or figure. A road from the distant Hanumakonda fort-gate upto the temple of Swayambhunatha was also laid and 'several temples' built on either side of this high way. I should imagine that the road led to the northern gate of the present Warangal fort running

12. Madireddykunta record.

13. This version was told by my friend Dr. Ramaraju of the Osmania University service. The incident having taken place near the big single rock, the word 'orukal' might have got translated into Sanskrit as 'Ekōpala' (as seen in a Sanskrit record) and then got changed to 'Ekasila'.

upto the Warangal station along the high road in Hanumakonda (close to the hill) and there after along the Mattewada road from a link to it. There are numerous old temples on either side of this road even to this day, and the several Hanumakonda shrines lining upto the thousand pillared temple, that temple itself with its entrance on the south, the Bhadrakali temple and the Panduranga temple on the hill fill in along this road. All the present day small temples on the road in Mattewada have ofcourse been renovated in the centuries gone by, but their situations and the hundreds of sculptural fragments lying under trees on either side of this road, deserted temple courts and fields, afford enough proof for this road being once a line of temples**.

We cannot to-day identify the fragments of sculpture which belonged to Prola's time as we are not sure if round and separate sculptures (free from rocks) were freely made in his time. The *linga* and *panavatta* were made and they underwent a change too. Looking at the panavatta of the present Siddheswara linga in the Hanumakonda fort with its crude granite snout, I am tempted to attribute it to Beta II, who built a temple Betesvaram and installed a Proleshvara also in it. The Kakatiyas started their political career as feudatories of the Chalukyas who used red sandstone for their sculptures. Panavattas were made with reddish white granite probably because big enough slabs could be obtained only in that stone. At Pattadakal, Aihole and Badami, in the Kadamba country and beyond, we see this whitish red stone employed in Chalukyan temples for panavattas. The present one with its crude finish and square shape is characteristic. In the Swayambhu temple built in the times of Prola II, we see a black stone panavatta of the general shape of the Danavulapadu (Rashtrakoota) bathing pedestals. This one is very much smaller in size, but is smoother in its finish. Any horizontal section of this panavatta would be similar to the surface with its circle and snout. This form of panavatta might have been borrowed from the Rashtrakuta sculpture but the medium and the size, and the small stepped decorative boundary appear to be of a later date. We find such pedestals in later temples of Hanumakonda, Vaddepalli and many other places around the Kakatiya capital. Some have, like the Rashtrakoota ones, square areas marked off for sculpturing on the vertical surfaces of the circular portion. The linga in the Shambhunigudi appears to be very small, limited to a five inch diameter and about an equal measure in height also, by the small diameter of the panavatta circle. The Brahmasutras naturally fade into insignificance. This linga is obviously not the original one. But the original one worshipped till the time of Prataparudra was Swayambhunatha, the guardian deity of the Kakatiyas. A number of 'Swayambhunatha' temples sprung up around the capital thereafter.

JAIN FIGURES

The *shikhara* of the Sambhunigudi is a stepped elongated pyramid. This appears to be the form, the temple sikhara had taken when the stone-stepped sikhara of the Jain temples of the Kadamba region was reproduced in brick in the Kakatiya capital. The Hidimbashrama temple, Sambhunigudi, the Padmakshi Sikhara, the Siddhesvara temple, the temples in Hanumakonda, Mattevada, Kasibugga, Warangal,

** A straight road from Hanumakonda fort gate to the present entrance of Warangal fort does not show temples or temple ruins now. The habitations in the Warangal fort show that the western gate was the main gate as the hero of Kridabhirama, Manchana Sarma found it. But this happened after Muslim occupation. The invaders reshaped the western entrance. They led the attack on the fort only from the north. The road would have led to it. The town on that side was probably destroyed during the war.

Kondiparti, Gangadhara, Dharmasagaram, were all built in this pattern though this form is not a happy one. Mailama the wife of Prola's Minister Betana, built the Padmaskhi Sikhara. Inside the *garbhagriha*, which is the recess between a vertical and a leaning boulder, we see, carved on the eastern boulder, life-sized figures of a standing tirthankara and his *yaksha* and *yakshi* sitting on either side. Though the identifiable characteristics are missing, we can say that these are Parsvanatha and his devotee yakshas Dharanendra and his consort Padmavathi. I am not sure whether the three projections on the tiaras of the crown of Padmavathi are not the hoods of a snake. Dharanendra has a snake round his neck. The size of the sculptures, the female form of Padmakshi, her diadem with its rings, the shapes of the Prabhas and umbrellas near the heads in the carvings outside, the facades of the two small incomplete caves to the west of the temple, all suggest that these were made in the Rashtrakuta times. Mailama got the sikhara, and the mandapa to the north of the garbhagriha built and caused the relief sculptures to be carved on the western rock outside. The book-rests in one or two reliefs show that this 'Kadalalayavasadi' was a centre for teaching Jain religion. In the bold reliefs carved, we find for one sitting tirthankara, the lion symbol of Vardhamana, while the seven hoods of Dharanendra an attribute to Parsvanatha, form a canopy above him! It is a wonder why Jains allowed this kind of mixture of their traditions in a *vasadi* specially constructed for them. Near one Parsvanatha, we see a nobleman wearing the dress of those times. By his side, is a lady, who is probably holding the umbrella for the tirthankara (Fig. 7). Some scholars say these are Betana and his wife Mailama. Carving of the devotee's figure along with the Tirthankara is seen at Sanigaram (seven miles to Siddipet) and also at Vemulavada and the above guess could be correct.

III. RUDRADEVA

The birth of Rudra, Prola's eldest son is shrouded in mystery. There was probably a sinister astrological prediction that he would kill his father. The story goes on to say that the baby was enclosed in an empty pumpkin and left in a garden under a creeper. He finally got into the hands of the priests, who guarded him secretly. When he came of age he was asked to guard the premises of a temple, probably the thousand pillared one. There are to this day, no doors for that temple.¹⁴ One night Rudra stabbed an intruder and discovered to his dismay that the intruder was none other than Prola II. The priests then confessed their mistake but Prola bowed to destiny. He was not vengeful and left instructions to install Rudra on his throne. Prola had another son Mahadeva who naturally did not relish this turn in his fortunes ; and local records report that he always plotted against Rudra. One of the stone records in the Warangal fort says that Mahadeva was quite disinterested in ruling and spent his time always in the worship of Siva. A popular ballad poem Matapurana describes that Prola having died childless, his ministers sent round a bedecked elephant with a garland of flowers to pick up the deserving boy. The elephant garlanded a boy and brought him to the palace as the future king. There was a protest from some quarters and the boy cleared their doubts by revealing that he was born Prola's son, but nevertheless thrown out of the palace in a pumpkin garden. The ministers then schooled him to the Kakatiya tradition of worship of Ekavira, etc. There is a strong indication in this story that Rudra did not come to the throne in the normal way. There is evidence of Rudra's intense religious devotion in the early years of his accession (which was perhaps gratitude shown if not repentance for a sin), and tolerance of Mahadeva's plots against him. The alternative possibility of Rudra having committed patricide may also crop up in future research.

EARLY TEMPLES

Rudra built according to tradition, the temples of Kasibugga (near Warangal), Ainavol Mailarudeva, and the Ekaveera temple at Mogilicherla. I would like to believe this tradition because it fits in as a sort of a preparation for the raising of the thousand-pillared temple in 1162 A. D. at Hanumakonda by Rudra. The Kasibugga temple is just after the pattern of the Hidimbarama temple. Tradition has it that the king used to secretly repair to that temple [it could not be to Kasi (or Varanasi) as it would have us believe] all alone for worship. The queens consulted Jain astrologers and through their prowess, learnt the secret. The Ainavolu temple for Mailarudeva or Khanderaya, is in accordance with the pattern of the Somesvara temple of Kolanupaka. That one was Chalukyan (as is clearly indicated by the ardhasikhara attached before its main sikhara). Mailarudeva was a popular deity with all the attributes of Bhairava except his ferocity and nakedness and the dog symbol. The mandapa of the temple is rectangular and its corridor runs around the temple. The sikhara above the *garbhagriha* is like that of

14. The corners of the mandapa as well as its entrance were left unbarred. The Hoysalas closed the corners with stone lattices and the entrance with doors. That is why their temples are so dark. The Kakatiyas left these open to SHOW the mandapa and hence the need for a guard in the nights.

Padmakshi temple. In the stray sculptures round the temple, we see Naginis, Veerakals and fragments of figures of Kakati. These are all carved as high reliefs, the parikara or back slab remaining prominent, showing that they belong to an early period of carving. We see a Saraswati (fig. 8 Pl. II) holding a *veena* and *kamandalam* in her back right and left hands and *akshadama* in her front right and a palm leaf book in her left. She conforms to these attributes to *Vishnudharmottaram* (*Agnipurana* omits the *Kamandalam*) as does the Hanumakonda Kakati. The figure is somewhat like the Alampur *matrikas* but has the oval *prabha* like Rashtrakuta figures. She could not be later than Rudra at any rate.

The Ekavira temple at Mogilicherla is a simple one with *garbhagriha* and ante-room. There is a parapet wall around with a pial on its inner side. Pillars look as if they rise from this parapet wall at regular intervals and the roof covers not only the temple but also the *pradakshinapatha* bounded by the line of pillars. This kind of roofing is found in the Alampur Chalukyan temples. We see a crude Bhairava figure carved in bass relief near the temple and a very recent figure intended to portray Ekavira. In the sanctum of those days a *nagna kabandha* would have been installed as indicated for a Warangal temple in Kreedabhiramam, and as seen in the temple at Alampur. [The lady worshippers of Ekavira desiring a boon of progeny have to be naked also! In Secunderabad, on the wall of a Devi temple, we see a stucco relief of a naked headless standing female deity with naked lady attendants. This answers the description of Ekavira temple of Kreedabhiramam. Ekavira figures are not found dressed.]

These three temples have been described here so as to show (1) the experimentation that took place in temple building and sculpture during the early period of Rudra's rule and (2) the background for the building of the thousand-pillared temple of Hanumakonda. Rudra started expanding his kingdom after the initial stabilisation. He defeated Domma, Meda, Mailagideva, Bhima and Chododaya¹⁵. Medarayan temple in the Hanumakonda fort was perhaps due to this Meda. Like many Jain temples, this temple faces north, it has inside the *garbhagriha*, a Jain long rectangular *panavatta* with the triple lion symbol of Vardhamana. Outside the temple there is another single-stone long rectangular pedestal, perhaps intended to carry the bathing model of the tirthankara installed in the then sanctum sanctorum. We see such a one of Danavulapadu in the Madras Museum. There are some broken Jain figures now stocked in the Chitaph Khan Mahal and they could have belonged to this temple. They too are in blackstone as this *panavatta* is and are also polished to smoothness. This polish is not found on the earlier Kakatiya icons. Two round *rangasilas* are seen in the mukhamandapa here. These might have served for installing the Tirthankara and the dance of a troupe of girls respectively during the festive occasions of Jains. We see such dance troupes in Jain paintings.

Bhima was a Telugu Choda of the Kandur-cum-Vardhamanapura line. He was installed by Prola II, but he rebelled against the authority of Rudra. The enraged king invaded his territory, burnt his palace at Vardhamanapura (*ibid*). It is likely that, in this campaign, Rudra was impressed by the *trikuta* temple in the fort of Vardhamanapura. The Telugu Chodas of that place had built other *trikuta* temples ; one is at Panagal,¹⁶ the capital of Udaya Choda, whom Rudra destroyed.

15. Hanumakonda, thousand pillared temple inscription.

16. The two pillars before each of the three temples in this Chaya Somanatha Trikota temple, appear to be forming an antarala. This feature is also found in a Vardhamanapura temple and is evidently an earlier feature. So the stepped pyramidal temples of Vardhamana as well as Panagal are believed to be earlier than Rudra.

THE RUDRESVARA TEMPLE

Prefabrication : Returning to his capital, Rudra celebrated his successes and constructed the *Rudresvaralaya* in his name in 1162 A. D. This temple started a new epoch in temple building and thereby in Kakatiya sculpture. The western Chalukyan temples were constructed by horizontal coursing of large sized (4' x 3') stones smoothened to be roughly plane on one side only. The temple wall was made in two layers by such stones, their width standing vertical, and the stones held together by mud. The outer face and the inner face of the stony layers were smooth, the two rough surfaces of the two vertical layers being joined together with mud in between. The Medarayan temple was built in this way. Rudra improved this technique to its perfection of prefabrication of temples in stone. Stone slabs carved similarly along the vertical areas of their outer edges were arranged in horizontal layers to form a high stellate outline plan and the space enclosed in the wide stony platform was filled with fine rubble and lime. The carved edges were arranged to be vertical, projecting either round or oval, and their vertical areas were carved as petals of flower, friezes of elephants or four petalled flowers. Holes were bored through the big stone slabs at intervals and were filled with molten iron, which cooled to form an iron nail keeping the arrangement of the pile in position. The whole made-up platform was then paved with stone slabs. At the place intended for the *garbhagriha*, four pillars of square section were erected at the four corners and stone slabs of reddish white stone, polished on their inner faces were slipped in the space between pillars one over the other with their breadths standing vertical and lengths horizontal to form the inner wall. The rough surface of the slabs was facing outside. The *antarala* was similarly made and the two outer pillars of the *antarala* were on one of the edges of the square mandapa. Very close to this 'wall' on its outer side were arranged a row of vertical slabs, carved on their outer faces into advancing and receding pilasters, fit so close to one another that the wall of the temple looked like having been made by a thousand pillars arranged vertically one by the side of the other. The two layers of the wall were cemented by mud mixed with gravel. The coping consisted of two foot wide stone slabs each one carved at one end as a piece of the bent cornice upto one half of its length and left as a heavy stone slab at the other end. It is these heavy pieces that lined up closely and covered the top of the two layers of the wall, and their carved ends projecting out perpendicular to the wall made the beautiful cornice. Now these cornice stones required to be weighed down at their inner ends and the square roof of the *garbhagriha* or *antarala* yet remained to be covered. In the mandapa too, four profusely carved pillars formed the corners of the *rangamandapa* and the big square slab (with a big circular platform carved on it in bass relief) formed the *ranga sila*. The *mandapa* space round this slab was divided into three square bays on each side and each had four pillars erected at its four corners. There were thus nine square spaces in all in the whole mandapa to be roofed. Stone beams bridged from pillar to pillar and capitals at the tops of the pillars helped to arrange the beam matrix at the same level above all the pillars. All square spaces thus formed were roofed in three steps. Triangular stone slabs covered the corners of the squares first, leaving a median square space free. The corners of this space were covered next by a higher layer of triangular slabs and the residual central square space closed finally by a square slab. The horizontal and vertical areas of the piled slabs were carved as also the three visible faces of the beams, and the visible surface of the capitals, along with the vertical area of the pillars and their bases ! The inner edge of the mandapa carried a pial two and a half feet high. This was made by filling the space between two rows of vertically fixed stone slabs with mud and paving the surface by stone slabs which served to seat visitors. The outer face of this pial was carved as also that of the leaning back

of the pial formed by a row of curved stones specially made and arranged for that purpose. To each *antarala* is fixed a doorway (*dwarabandha*) which has a stone framework of some height at the bottom and some more width at its sides, for fixing in position the prepared *dwarapalas* on the bottom jamb on either side, and carving a pilaster, lattice work and *padmadala* ornamentation to one side of the *dwarapalas* and plenty of space at the top jamb to fix a latticed or deeply carved architrave above. An elaborately decorated stone shade below the architrave completes the beauty of the door way.

I chose to describe the construction of this temple in this detail, not for making clear its architectural excellence (which is not our purpose at all) but, for pointing out the sculptural inflorescence that blossomed everywhere in the new temple. Every single part of this prefabrication was a sculptured piece and when the whole temple was piled up, the full glory of decorative sculpture presented its silent archestra and majestic grandeur. Never since the times of Amaravati was such a resuscitation of decorative sculpture seen in Andhra Pradesh.

In this Rudresvaralaya however, sculpture is limited to the figures in the niches outside each one of the three temples, the pilaster complexes, the base and belts round the pillars in the mandapa, the inner roof of the *natyaranga*, the architraves above the door jambs, the *dwarapalas* and the sanctum sanctorium. The stone used being harder and of finer grain, the carving could be precise, figures small sized and well confined to their positions. The temple facing the east is Rudresvaralaya and the figures of Rudresvara are carved on its northern and western faces. Rudresvara is Siva with a garland of skulls, dishevelled hair and a terrible aspect generally. One of these figures holds a mace, trident, *damaruka* and a sword. Another holds a *damaruka* and *kapala*. In the outer south-west corner of this Rudresvaralaya, we see female figures holding buds. I am not able to say whether the prelude of the *darukavana* episode is attempted here as the Siva is not Sundaresvara, but is more akin to the ferocious Bhirava. The presence of ladies on Rudresvara temple remains a mystery. To our left at the entrance we see dancing Ganesa. On south Indian temples, Ganesa is carved on the outer face of the *antarala* on one side and Mahishamardani on the other side ; but here we do not see Mahishamardani on the symmetrically opposite side. Dancing Ganesa is carved more in north India than in south India. The vigour of the movement of the hands and curvature of the pose here present a clear contrast to the static frontal poses of the figures of *Surya* or *Vasudeva* on the other two temples facing the south (fig. 9) and east respectively. The ornaments and dress are after the Chalukyan models, say those at Ambur (see 'Cousens') and the triangular termination of the space round the figure is not different from that of the *parikara* of figures carved in high relief (Jalandharabhirava for instance). Known conventions would naturally manifest frequently even in new atmospheres. The same static pose as is used for *Surya* in the earlier schools of sculpture is employed here and (as boots are not shown) the south Indian practice can be seen to have been followed. No attempt is made to show the seven horses even by their heads. However, it is perhaps the medium, and ignorance of convention at the quarry where this was carved, that might have led to the omission of the horses. The hoods of the snake above the Sun to our right at the entrance are a peculiarity so far as the Sun is concerned (We see snake hoods generally above Nagas, Buddha, Parsvanatha and Vishnu). A century later, a temple was raised for Vasukiravisomesvara at Juttiga in the west Godavary District. We do not know if this Sun figure were intended to be Vasukiravi. The third temple of this trikuta was dedicated to Vasudeva, a north Indian God*. He holds here a mace, conch and discus in three hands.

*Vishnu in the south is seen as Ranganatha or Anantasayana, Trivikrama, Varaha, and Narasimha. Chennakesava, Rama and Venugopala are later developments. In sculpture, Vasudeva is a north Indian concept.)

The danseuses at the bottom of the four faces of each one of the pillars (marking the Rangaman-dapa) are after the Hoysala figures in similar arches. The disposition of their feet perpendicular to one another is (not Chalukyan), but of Hoysala. The architraves over the entrances to the three temples show dancing Siva, Indra and Narasimha in the centre and from the delicacy of the carving, they appear to have been filed to shape by goldsmiths, because these panels copy the delicate patterns of gold ornamentation.

The traditional antecedents of the three deities on the architraves, bull, elephant and *garuda* pale into insignificance because of their very short size. This epitomisation was the influence of Jain sculpture, wherein the symbols of the thirthankaras are carved in very small sizes compared to the main figure. The dancing Siva in the centre of the inner ceiling of the central mandapa, with the circle of Dikpalas, round it, is all the sculpture on the ceiling. The door jambs of the vestibules and the *garbhagrihas* are profusely carved and instead of the single or coupled dwarapalas of the Chalukyan temples, we see here multiple figures as in the Jain temples of Lakkundi and other places. In Jain tradition, the *tirthankaras*, though worshipped for personal catharsis of the worshipper, were the completely emancipated souls, but not gods who grant boons. They were heard by large crowds in the Samavasaranas. The crowd at the door of a Jain temple represent these crowds. In the Hindu tradition, the temple is the great abode of God, difficult of approach and guarded by pious souls, the dwarapalas. Multiple dwarapalas seen here are new to Hindu temples and the groups here are certainly characteristic of the Jain tradition. The stone elephants on either side of the entrance to the mandapa are again after the Jain fashion of carving an elephant, with tall and parallel front legs and short back ones giving a wooden impression of the animal.

The attraction of these architraves is quite evident in the general (design) carving of the architraves and the vertical slabs on either side of the entrance of the north facing temple built on a small hill of stone to the north-west of this Rudresvaralaya at about half a mile from it. I believe that this one and the Siva temple to its south were the temples raised by Gangadhara, Rudra's Minister. Black stone of the type used for Rudresvaralaya was not perhaps readily available for him and so in this carving granite was used. Hence, its polish is not satisfactory, and details not clear. This temple was a Kesava temple as the figure in the centre of the architrave shows. Gangadhara mentioned in a record that he raised a Kesava temple near the Rudresvaralaya.¹⁷ That the local skill in carving was not of a high standard either in its aim or its achievement is clear also from the figures of Purushottama Hari got carved by Gangadhara on the western edge of Hidimba tirtha,¹⁸ the pond on the top of the Madikonda hill. We see Hari with four hands, three of them holding a mace, conch and *chakra* and the fourth a rosary just as *Vasudeva* of the *Rudresvaralaya* is seen holding. Two female chowry-bearers stand on either side. We see to their left, a *Varaha* carved*.

17. Karimnagar inscription.

18. Telangana inscriptions, 6.

*The Hanumakonda record of Rudra opens its Sanskrit part with a salutation to Varaha Hari. The Varaha incarnation of Hari appears to have been carved earlier than the Narasimha form as is clear from the installation of that name earlier than the latter one at Simhachalam and Tirupati. Prola II was said to have scorched the Varaha impression on one of his enemies after defeating him in battle. Palkurki Somanatha, a Veerasiava guru of the times of Prataparudra, wrote that Varaha was installed on temple sikharas of Vishnu. Curiously enough, all such figures of the varaha have disappeared in later repairs probably due to the hatred of Muslims towards the animal. We see Garuda taking his seat at the four corners on temple sikharas and Narasimha displacing varaha in the sancta.

Growth of sculpture up to Kakatiya times :

The sculpture of the Andhra country appears to have started with the *mahanagas* and *lingas*. The Gudimallam linga and the mahanagas of the earlier Buddhist stupas (as at Bhattiprolu) have evolved to the present shapes through long periods of experimentation. Very early lingas are seen in other parts of India, but the mahanaga is characteristically an adopted motif of Andhra ; and figures of Buddha, Anantasyana Vishnu, and Parsvanath were almost always endowed with the super-canopy of the hoods of the mahanaga. The Satavahana Buddhist sculpture started as ornamental decoration with the carving of pilasters (provided with *padma* capitals and rider reliefs), at the edges of the rectangular marble slabs employed to cover the surface of the *vedica* (cylindrical portion) of the stupa. The Asokan pillar might have kindled this idea of the pillar, but later carving at Jaggayyapeta carried on, not as sculpture in the round but only as relief sculpture on these pilasters ; *yakshinis* standing on animals were carved here in a very elementary way (but gradually perfected at Barhut). Representation of king Mandhata with his ' nine jewels ', of places of worship, and buildings, followed suit. The stone fences of the stupas provided ample space inside and outside for decorative sculpture. Circular areas on pillars and the panels of marble on the stupas carried compositions pertaining to the life of Buddha. The persons in these panels had to be different from one another and this led to *roopabheda* in sculpture. Barhut sculpture did not attempt *roopabheda* in compositions. Multiple panels of the miniature form of the stupa itself was used at Amaravati as a decoration to the three dimensional dome of the stupa, thus leading to the idea of the employment of the miniature *sikhara* of the temple itself as a measure of decoration of the temple *shikhara* at Mahabalipuram and Kanchi. Delicate movement, nay, dancing expression of *Bhava* so patent at Amaravati brought *lavanya* (delicacy) into sculpture. Centrality achieved in Amaravati panels by increasing the size of the important person in the centre, gave birth to the new convention of *pramana* and thus five of the six famous limbs of painting mentioned by Yasodhara in his commentary to the Sutras of Vatsyana—*Rupabheda*, *Pramana*, *Bhava*, *Lavanya* and *Sadrisya*—were practically demonstrated in Amaravati sculpture. Barhut showed *Sadrisya* and perhaps attempted at *lavanya* (in delineating the yakshas and yakshis), Sanchi put in crowds, and Amaravati lifted up sculpture metaphorically to Amaravati itself (Indra's capital) by specialising in movement and devotion.

The Pallava rule in the Andhra country gave rise to the carving of Puranic sculpture like the Ananta and dwarapalas of Undavalli near Vijayawada in the rock locally available by passing the age old habit of using only marble. (This latter habit of using marble is obvious in the Hindu sculptures of Saraswati and Kumara at Ghantasala, not to mention the lingas of Elesvaram and Kumara of Nagarjunakonda). The Chalukyas changed the medium to red sandstone and made some prominent sculptures in the round like the dwarapalas, chowry-bearer, Ganesa and elephants, examples of which are now in Madras Museum. Following the example of the temples of Pattadakal, the Chalukyas built at Biccavol, some temples, which are still standing. These have niches on the three outer sides of the garbhagriha and there are sandstone figures in these niches. Scripture and tradition guided these sculptors in carving and installing these sandstone figures. Where the sculptor chose to play, as in the dance panels of Vijayawada, we see life, vigor, and enthusiasm.

The Rashtrakutas built few or no temples in coastal Andhra but the general influence of Ellora was profound. The Ravana figures at Kumararama and Vengi, the Jain tirthankaras in the region round Daksharama, Hanumakonda and Danavulapadu were all done in their times. The Kalyan

Chalukyas changed the medium to blackstone and built large temples but the part assigned to sculptures was not as it could possibly be. Decorative sculpture and compositions did not find favour with the Eastern Chalukyas as also with the Badami Chalukyas. The panels of the Rashtrakutas were majestic and occupied all the space with vigour. The decorative over hanging flower garlands, wig haired cherubins and fluted pillars in the Rashtrakuta panels were less prominent than the decorative motifs—designs, rows of lions, kudus, fish shells, dwarf figures, geometrical Swastik patterns, bracket pairs, —of the Chalukyas. The hold of the Kalyani Chalukyas on Andhra was neither continuous nor strong. The western Chalukyan influence did not therefore penetrate beyond Alampur or say Satyavolu.¹⁹ The loose sculptures of Yelamanchili, Kumararama, Biccavol and the several temples in the Coastal districts served just for ornamentation and so we can say that by and large sculpture was struggling for survival in temple niches. In the prefabricated temple pattern of Rudresvaralaya, it looked as if sculpture returned to its own and spread enormously if only in its ornamental aspect. What faded out from its grandeur and extent after the Satavahanas and Ikshwakus, came again to its stature in a different medium, but with equal opulence and abundance. This however is not fully evident at Hanumakonda. We will have to go to Palampet to see the full stature of this pattern of the temple.

NANDI

The carving of Nandi evolved to a big size and profuse ornamentation by Rudra's time. We know that Siva temples existed at Nagarjunakonda (Pushpabhadra Swamy for instance) and Eleswaram but we do not see a Nandi of those times though the *dhvajastambha* was there. The Pallavas made scores of Nandis at Mahabalipuram to install on the compound wall of the shore temple but these appear to be more ornamental than religious as they all turn their heads towards us though their bodies are all arranged in profile. May be they were all looking at the sanctum from their positions on the walls. The Nandi of Kanchi Kailasanatha is no better. He has a conventional snout, eyes and a thick hump, ornamental bands run along and across his body and make him more an effigy than a nandi. However he is of the same pose as the Nandi of to-day. At Bhairavakonda (in the Nellore district) Nandi faces the shrine and is carved with a motive*.

The Chalukyan nandi of Pattadakal is more natural in its pose though the hump is too big for it. Its size would be only three feet by two. The Rashtrakuta nandi, we do not see before a shrine but only in panels. In Mahanandi, I believe, we see a later Chalukyan nandi but it projects its snout horizontally like a rat**.

19. At Satyavolu is a western Chalukyan temple of the Alampur type. Satyavolu is between Giddalur and Somidevipalli on Vijayawada Guntakal line. That temple has not yet been studied (1964).

*The temples there, were cave adaptations of the constructed form of temple, which had already evolved, with nandi facing the shrine, sitting Parasurama and Vighnesvara on either wall of the antarala, dwarapalas and shrine with Vishnu and Brahma on either side-wall of the garbhagriha. In one of the temples at Bhairavakonda the back wall of the temple has, carved in bass relief, a triple headed figure, perhaps signifying Trimurti. Parasurama, Ganesa, Brahma and Vishnu are on the inside in the cave temple, instead of appearing on the outer side of the constructed temple.

**Such nandis are seen in Srisailem, five of them carrying the Lord and his consort.

The Kakatiya nandi, unlike their elephant, is an attempt at natural delineation; it shows even the veins on the snout. The hump of the Hanumakonda bull seems to be unnatural though his jewelry was well done. Basavesvara, who gave a fillip to Veerasaivism—he was not the founder—was supposed to be an *avatar* of nandisvara and after his advent nandis were made in big sizes. I presume the Hanumakonda nandi was one such.

PANAVATTA AND LINGA

The panavatta of Rudresvara is square, but its height of four feet is made up of several faced slabs of blackstone. The Chalukyan *panvallas* were in red sandstone, square in shape; they had a narrow waist and had a ridge all round the top surface to prevent water of ablution from flowing out all over the edge. That shape is preserved here but the height and size are improved. The linga is about 27 inches in diameter and slightly more in height. It has a smooth curved top surface.* The Kakatiyas adopted the Linga of a type described with parallel Brahmasutras and smooth curves descending to the sides. In the times of Ganapati and Prataparudra, however, the top of the linga was made flat and the upper edge bevelled [for protection against knocks].

Mention must again be made of Rudra's minister, Gangadhara, who is said in his Karimnagar record to have constructed a trikuta in Dondodu, and a Prasannakesava temple near the Rudreswara of Hanumakonda. The door jamb of the mandapa of the temple on the small stone hillock referred to, north of Hanumakonda appears to have been the door jamb of this Prasannakesava. In its architrave we see Prasanna Kesava holding a conch, a chakra and a mace in three of his hands and showing *abhaya* by the fourth. This architrave is after the three of Rudresvara—only, the figures here are not in dancing-poses. Gangadhara, is also credited with the construction of temples for Buddha and Vishnu with his twenty four forms. The Veerasaiva deluge had yet to come !

*It is interesting to study the shapes of the lingas from early times. The brahmasutras, or lines of contour drawn on the lingas are often characteristic of the tradition of the lines of kings. The Ikshvakus made slab lingas and lingas like the Pushpabhadra linga with three fluted faces on one side. (It is perhaps the precursor of the dhara linga fluted allround). These were oval in section (like the Gudimallam linga) and are made of marble. We see such lingas occasionally at great distances from the Ikshvaku capital like Ganapavaram of the west Godavary district. In Elesvaram, we see the brahmasutras showing vertical double lines. The Pallavas, who ruled that region later, adopted this form, made it longer, and cut eight faces in the lower portion, called the Vishnubhaga. The multifaced dhara linga was installed in the shore temple at Mahabalipuram. In Undavalli, we see a square panavatta and a long cylindrical linga representing the Jyotirlinga with Brahma and Vishnu in human forms going up and down to know the extent of it. The tall lingas in white marble, found installed in Kumararama, Daksharama and Amaravati were intended to symbolise the jyotirlinga and hence they were made in white marble! The linga seen on the Vijayawada sculptured pillars at the eastern foot of the hill is too tall compared to the panavatta. We see such Chalukyan lingas at Nidadavol, Kanchumarru and Sivaganga, stout and nearly two feet tall. Curiously, the Telugu Cholas of Nellore made equally tall lingas though of smaller diameter and on short Padmapectha (damaru shaped) panavattas. It is possible to identify a Chalukyan shrine and a Telugu Chola one from these characters. In Ellora bold reliefs of Kalarimurti show a linga which is cylindrical and which has its top surface curving like a cucumber. The lingas in the western Chalukyan temples of Alampur have the cucumber top and the characteristic Brahma sutras. On a low stone hillock to the north of Hanumakonda, some early temples are seen. I believe that these had been raised by Gangadhara, a minister of Rudra. The panavatta here is rectangular, but the linga has the long double hooks as the Brahma sutras. This one would have been made without any reference to convention. The door jamb has only poorna kumbhas and not dwarapalas following the Jaina convention.

IV. MAHADEVA

Rudra was killed in a battle with the Yadavas and his brother Mahadeva succeeded him. Local records say that he was punished for his treachery against Rudra. A Warangal record says that Mahadeva did not covet the kingdom but had only love for the lotus feet of Lord Siva. The Kalachuryas overran the Kalyani Chalukyas in 1160 A.D. and Basaveswara, the minister of Bijjala patronised the *jangams*, to the point of impoverishing the state exchequer, say Jaina records. The irritated Bijjala pulled up Basaveswara and the latter plotted against the king and got him murdered in the name of religion. Bijjala's sons pursued Basaveswara and he had to commit suicide by falling in a well near Kudalisangama. Basaveswara was a great devotee of Lord Siva and his death was as good as martyrdom. The indignant Veerasaivaites retaliated with a horrid violence, killing Jains by thousands and levelling Jain temples to the ground. Hundreds of Jain figures were broken and killing a Jain in the name of the religion was considered to be a spiritual merit.

Mahadeva does not seem to be a strong king, and he was a silent observer of this deluge. He perhaps invaded the Yadava kingdom and was killed in battle by Jaitugi, his son Ganapati having been taken prisoner. An interregnum of two or three years appears to have followed this incident and I presume it was this small gap that provided opportunity to the Veerasaivaites to effect the work of destroying Jain shrines in and around Hanumakonda. On the top of the hill at Hidimbarama a Jain temple facing north was converted into a temple of Veerabhadra. It has the old Jain *manastambha* before it even now. This Veerabhadra (fig. 10) is a bold relief, the figure sticking to the backplate, *parikara*. He has eight hands and is full of vigour. He holds sword and shield in his front hands. The backplate ends as a triangle just as the space around the Sun at Rudreswara in Hanumakonda. (There is in this temple, also an early type of Kakatiya *panavatta* with a circular upper surface and snout and with a small sized *linga*).

JAIN SCULPTURE

Stopping at the end of Mahadeva's rule, we will review the progress of Jain sculpture in the Kakatiya dominions. The Hanumakonda Jain establishments on and near the Padmakshi temple were started possibly in Rashtrakuta times, though a regular Jain temple was not built there in those days. This was done by the minister of Prola II, and his wife. The Parsvanatha figure carved outside the temple was done in those days. The coils of the snake Dharanendra behind him are clear and separate. In Rashtrakuta sculpture the coils were closely gathered. The Jain temple of the Hidimbarama was probably occupied by the successors of Tridandi, who established themselves on that hill. There were some Jain temples in the fort of Warangal and the smooth *jinas* now seen in the Chitaphkhan hall would have been installed in those temples. The tombstones of the Jain gurus, now gathered before the said hall, could have belonged to that period "also". The rectangular *panavattas* in the Medrayan temple

and that one in the Panduranga temple of Hanumakonda were of that period. The Chauvisa Tirthankara figures now in Sambhunigudi would have been imported from Koppal, the then Tirtham of the Jains but the Chauvisa in the Padmakshi temple (fig. 11), itself shaped like a temple could be of Kakatiya make. It is the only one of its type with three, two, and one Tirthankaras in the three stories. The standing positions of the lower-most row, providing for the height of the first storey of the temple, or, using the full accommodation available, bring to our mind the central deities in the triangular panels of the Kakatiya temples in the Warangal fort (now in the Hyderabad Museum), using all the length of the altitude for their standing (sometimes on their vehicles). The Chaumukh in the Padmakshi temple could have been an imported piece, it has a decorated Malkhed triple umbrella. The triple umbrella, with worshippers on either side seen just outside the Padmakshi temple (fig. 11a) indicates the height of the Jain cult, emphasizing even one of the Ashtamangalas without including the Tirthankara²⁰. A small flat temple situated on the south wall of the Warangal fort has *kumbhandas* sitting at the lower ends of either of the vertical door jambs. They are holding in their two fists, stationed near their knees, the tails of two fish, and these fish are biting each other's jaws above their crowns (fig. 12, place II). This representation is a development over the Pedatumbalam figure, which shows the fish just facing each other at a small distance. In Muthra, the double fish are inclined to each other munching the same worm on either end; they face each other at Pedatumbalam and bite each other at Warangal. The three Jain symbols at the door jamb in the Jain temple at Aihole, the *purvakumbha*, the elephant and the *kumbhanda* were used each separately at the door jambs of the Jain temples during and after the tenth century A. D. in Andhra.

20. Ashtamangalas are eight accompanying embellishments of a tirthankara, lion-throne, prabha, mandala, triple parasol, chowries, celestial music, etc.

V. GANAPATIDEVA

Mahadeva, the father of Ganapati died in war in 1198 A. D. and Ganapati was imprisoned. Jaitugi of the Yadava kingdom set free Ganapati and out of extreme compassion, made him the king of Andhra country. There was thus an interregnum and taking advantage of the absence of an over-lord, 'several' former feudatories attempted to usurp the throne of Warangal and thus threatened the integrity of the empire. At that moment, Recherla Rudra of the family of generals of the kingdom stood as a bulwark to parry the blows of the ambitious chieftains and handed over the kingdom to Ganapati. The grateful king conferred a vast fife on him, to the north-east of Warangal and Recherla Rudra raised the world famous temples of Palampet. A large irrigation tank was constructed by contour bunding and a town Atkur was raised near it. Then followed the Siva temples on and near the bund. A first directive of Ganapatideva (after his accession) to his generals appears to be to construct tanks to bring vast forest areas under cultivation. A large number of tanks and temples sprung up all over the empire. Namireddy of Pillalamarri was possibly the first to construct a tank. He raised in that village a Siva temple also and named it Namesvara (A. D. 1202). This temple has a garbhalaya, antarala, and a large square mandapa with a central *ranga*, or dance-mandapa. The large mandapa is to be reached by six steps. Namireddy would have seen the temples of the Hoysalas (Khajuraho was far and then politically inaccessible too); he constructed for his temple, a sikhara adorned with very small temple sikharas. The square mandapa has a parapet wall and a pial all along its length inside. The roof ends in a cornice, which projects beyond the plinth and to prevent the cornice from falling down by its weight a parapet 'wall' of tiny temple-sikharas was raised on the inner edge of the cornice, forestalling the Vijayanagar practice. The *ranga*-mandapa is the centre of attraction in Kakatiya temples and Namireddy developed it to its limit.

The linga in the garbhalaya is one and half feet high and is of an equal diameter. Dancers occupied even the temple architrave of the antarala. A yali, two drummers, chowrie bearer, eight handed Siva, chowrie bearer, and drummers line up, and Ganesa on one extreme and Brahma on the other complete the row. The pillars of the natyamandapa are a marvel. Right from the bottom to the capitals, we encounter dancers. As at the Rudresvara temple of Hanumakonda, there is a tiny mandapa at the centre of each pillar at its bottom and there are two dancers in it. These make thirty two from all the pillars. Above these, on the rectangular flat faces of the pillars there are again two dancers on each face and these are about a foot high. These number another thirty two. There are another thirty two on the capitals. In the silence of the night, when the celestial dancer descends on to the rangamandapa accompanied by her own drummers, the Tandava Siva on the door jamb of the antarala moves his foot upwards and these little dancers come to life. The thirty two celestial fair visitors on the cross-like capitals above the pillars move their ever open eyes in unison with the rhythmic cadences—and the blessed hundred enjoy the dance till day-break disturbs them.

Chounda, another general, constructed a tank and raised a temple for Choundesvara at Kondaparti south of Hanumakonda (A. D. 1203). This was of a thousand pillared pattern and carries interesting

bass-relief sculpture on the pilasters. Three dwarapalas gather on either side of the shrine door, the central one being a male. We see even today a broken figure of a lovely Sarasvati dancing with one leg in the air, and the other on her vehicle, the swan. Her tribhanga pose and the gourd of her veena are done very well. The vehicle comes to its own size and the deity rides on a real vehicle. We shall see more of this (north Indian) feature at Warangal. Chounda constructed a tank Choundasamudram at Kondiparti. Near that tank bund is a Ganesa, two handed but with a traditional ornament of advancing circles behind his head (fig. 13).

The great temple of Palampet :

The temple for Rudresvara at Palampet was dedicated in 1213 A.D. The tank at that place is a very large one and would have taken a long time for completion. Otherwise Rudra would have raised the temple there earlier. The plan of the temple is seen on plate III-a and the general appearance in fig. 14, pl. III-b. It is a prefabricated type, and has the distinction of a beautiful brick sikhara with an ardhasikhara in its front, in accordance with the western Chalukyan models. With its prominent horizontal bands of masonry, the sikhara looks more south Indian than north Indian, in spite of the not altogether insignificant vertical rows, because of its general pyramidal appearance. As in Hoysala temples, there are three storied niches on the three sides of the outer face of the temple and the coursing of the stones making the 'walls' is horizontal. Slightly whitish red sandstone is used for this temple. The raised stellate basement and the outer face of the garbhalaya are comparatively plain. The topmost tiara of the basement of the temple over the stellate platform however, has, all along its zig-zag length round the temple, a frieze of elephants. This feature is seen on Hoysala temples also. Slender rectangular pilasters line up vertically on the outer face of the temple and it is these that prevented any relief carving on its surface. These pilasters are mounted at their top by stepped sikharas, forming an apparent frieze just under the edge of the cornice. The sikhara was built in very light bricks—they float on water—and its form is a fine graft of the Nagara sikhara on to a basically Dravida one. The horizontal as well as the vertical banding is maintained in the overall shape in spite of the exclusively vertical treatment of the tiny mandapas and temples adorning it. The rounded-off ardhasikhara is added before the main sikhara to gently bring down the eye of the visitor enjoying the profile appearance of the temple. A frontal look is almost impossible because of the long and high mukhamandapa before the temple and the low level of the yard.

From a look at the ground plan of the temple, one can see that five steps lead a visitor in the court, upto the stellate basement. This brings him to the entrance to the mandapa seen at the left of the general view. The parapet of the mandapa can be seen to be running all along its circumference. Its outer surface contains five horizontal bands of ornamentation all round the circumference of the mandapa. The lowest one is carved into a frieze of the four petalled conventional flower seen on all western Chalukyan temples. The next one is only a band carrying half moons on its upper edge, again a conventional ornamentation (seen at the edge of the cornice on Sambhunigudi and on the steps of the sikharas of Kadamba temples²¹). The next higher one is a frieze of squares showing single figures lined on either side by pillars. If we start at the edge of the temple on one side and go round the mandapa (on the stellate basement)

looking at these figures (for example figs. 15 and 16), we see a damsel donning her saree, making a *namskar*, a man blowing a long pipe, Jangams (Saivite devotees) chowry bearers, musical time keepers, listeners, girls putting vermillion mark on their foreheads with a hand curving round their heads (so as not to make a mistake in symmetry), huntresses, drummers showing rhythm in the body curves as well as the sounds *kinnaras*, veenaplayers, naked Jain tirthankaras (five of them!) dancing Ganapathi, Sun holding the lotus buds, Bhairava with his dog, Narasimha drawing out the intestines of Hiranyakasipu, six handed Ganapati, Kali and soldiers with rectangular shields. The sculptor enjoyed a holiday and a happy release, carving this frieze. The elephants look at us, ward off a wasp, meddle with the foot of the one behind, push the front one with their heads, look back at the hind one, lift up a mahout by his hair, munch a lotus-stack and do everything that elephants generally do, when they are in a herd. Ganapati with elephants round him and long haired mendicants with folded hands towards a visitor are peculiarities. These sculptured friezes on the 'Basement' of a temple are borrowed from Hoysala sculpture (western Chalukyan temples have, sometimes single bands of flowers, *avatars* or illustrations from Panchatantra but multiple friezes round the circumference of a temple are a speciality of the Hoysala sculpture). On the tiny parapet wall before the antarala of the small temple of the niche on the west of this big temple, we see a hero stabbing a lion, a 'Hoysala'. The 'stellate' pattern of the plinth of the temple and the carved cornice, are also Hoysala characteristics. But three broad departures from the Hoysala habit saved for this temple, beauty, light and escape from a bleak geometric look²². Those, who have seen the Belur and Halebid temples know that they are stellate in their plan, and look like modern ivory caskets. Light is shut out and all the sculpture inside the temple is a dark picture to a visitor. One cannot stay long inside those temples without feeling suffocated. The friezes of the Hoysala temples exhibit the fine work of the jeweller, but their complicated design and bustle of ornamentation are vexatious to a visitor who sees all. The cornice of those temples is flat like the one of a hat and presents a mechanistic appearance. Here, in all the Kakatiya temples, the space between the parapet wall of the mandapa and the roof is left open and free to let in air and light. The friezes showing rhythmic curves of the bodies of animals, men, women, and celestials are judiciously limited on the one hand and happily contrasted with the pillars of the tiny mandapas enclosing them, on the other. These friezes invite a visitor to look at the Kaleidoscopic pattern of life, its variety and vigor and its conventions and beliefs. The double S-curved cornice presents a wavy natural appearance.

While standing before the entrance to the raised mandapa on its east, north or south, one cannot miss the bracket figures at the upper ends of the four pillars, two on either side of the entrance (figs. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21). Bracket figures are abundant in the temples of Badami and its surroundings but they are massive and over-shadow the reliefs on them. These (Kakatiya) figure brackets are thin, and ninety per cent sculptures in the round. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, Kakatiya sculpture had experimented extensively with reliefs and was attempting to take the figures out of the *parikaram* (or backplate). In the sancta or garbhalayas, reliefs alone appear to have been insisted upon. The Annapoorna of Kalesvaram, the Veerabhadra of Hidimbarama, the Kakati figures in the Warangal fort (the dancing Siva and Mahishamardani of Alampur) were all made as reliefs. But the decorative sculpture on the architraves of the Hanumakonda Rudresvara temple released the sculptor from the convention of relief sculpture and here at Palampet (its name was Atkur then) he started bringing out his figures from the

22. The temple at Jakaram and a small trikoota at Palampet to the west of this great temple are exceptions but not happy ones at all.

Parikara. These twelve figure brackets are examples of such an attempt. Their back plates are entirely useless except for taking the small shocks of any tremor in transport and mounting on the building during its erection. These figures are slim, tall and graceful. The rhythmic curves of a graceful body are seen almost at their best in these figures. They show prominently the bust-waist-hip curves so often seen in Jain miniature paintings and the ends of their upper clothes point upwards to indicate movement. As a group, they are dancers specially invited and petrified here for the visitors of centuries. The only feature I am unable to like in these figures is their wooden expressionless face. Their eyes were made unusually big in imitation of the Jain tradition in painting. The full bosoms, wheel-like ear-rings and big sized coiffeurs are in accordance with Jain practice. All of them are not dancers. Two are representations of Jaganmohini and one is a drummer. One is a Nagini. I am tempted to call her Renuka ornamented with snakes but the two figures near her feet are not quite clear. Another is a huntress with a bow and arrow. It is therefore clear that these figures are not illustrations of the dance poses described in any contemporary treatise on dancing. In the 108 karanas of Bharatanatyam illustrated on the Chidambaram gopura we do not see dancers putting up their hands above their heads in the manner many of these figures are doing. These brackets represent therefore only the *salabhanjikas* so extolled in the Kondiparti record of Siva Kesava Prolesvaralaya²³.

As we enter the mandapa from the eastern side, (which the temple faces), we see on either side, a figure of a huntress (fig. 22) : we see her often at the door step of Kakatiya temples. Perhaps it illustrates an interesting situation in a popular story, may be that of Renuka. In Jakaram, (on the way back from Palampet to Hanumakonda) we see on the door-jamb, a huntress with a bow in her left hand and an arrow in her right pointing at a thorn in her left foot to some one attending to it (fig. 22 a, pl. II). To her right is seen again a naked figure of a girl holding a snake over her head. These two figures are perhaps representations of Renuka or Ekavira. The rhythmic pose of this figure at Palampet and its slim stability impresses a visitor.

Entering the mandapa we meet the nandi mounted on a raised pedestal of significant height (fig. 23). This practice perhaps started here and was copied later in the Chaturmukhesvara temple of Warangal, in Elesvaram, and other places. A novel feature of this nandi is its exquisite polish, which is the last word in polish. A visitor would doubt if this figure was not cast in black glass. The great care taken in carving this figure is undoubtedly submerged in the striking polish it received. And it looks as if it was made yesterday.

Getting inside, we reach the rangamandapa with its circular single black stone in the centre and ornamental pillars at the four corners and sculptured inner roof. The south-eastern pillar has three dancers 'with four legs', and a Ganesa, carved on it. A king holds a sword, and ladies holding parrots in their hands crowd round him. A monkey is trying to pull down the saree of one. This last one is also an oft carved picture. We see it on one of the bracket figures here and also at Tripurantakam. May be, (see Gopinatharao)²⁴ it is a characteristic carving of Pasupata Saivism. The south-western pillar has Amritamathan carved on it. Three devas are on one side with a four-handed Ganesa leading them and three asuras on the other with the two handed Gajamukhasura leading them. The

23. Inscription No.17, Telangana Inscriptions.

24. Indian Iconography : INTRODUCTION, p. 23.

devas have *prabhamandalas* or halos, while the asuras do not have them. On the western side of this pillar we see Manmatha with his sugar-cane bow and four ladies. One is donning her underwear, one is putting the vermilion mark on her forehead. The north-western pillar has the kolattam troupe, Amritamathana and Gopika Vastrapaharana scenes. These are not so good as the Rashtrakuta or Chalukyan groups, they were perhaps done by Jain sculptors converted to Saivism. In this Amritamathanam, Ganesa hasn't four hands; he has only a snake round his belly. The four leg triple dancer motif is repeated. The fourth and north-east pillar has only dancer pictures carved on it. Seven naginis carved here present an interesting idea.

Four beams of rectangular cross-section are run along the four sides of the square formed at the tops of the four pillars. Except the upper face of these, all the three visible faces are carved. On the outer faces, commencing at the north-east corner, we see the Saptarshis, Markandesvara, Brahma and Chowry bearers. Here the marriage proposal is made. Siva starts for the marriage with his retinue on the southern face and the western (outer) face shows the marriage. On the lower face of the beams we see the great deeds of the lord; Gajasura's fight, Siva Tandava, and the killing of Gajasura (fig. 24). On the back ground of an elephant cut and opened out, Siva dances on the head of Gajasura. This representation, which was adopted later in many temples²⁵ is in clear contrast to the Chola type of Gajasamhara-murti, wherein the lord is seen in profile, standing on his right leg, and folding up his left leg, and looking back. The Rashtrakuta and Chalukyan examples of Gajasura Samhara are followed here. The inner faces of the beams show the game played by Jaganmohini. The milky ocean is just a pot of milk resting on the back of a tortoise (Kurmavata) and the Mandhara hill is just a stout and long churning rod with a multiheaded Vasuki snake wound round the Mandhara in its centre. It is interesting to note that the sculptor shows us Ganesa with four hands and Gajasura with two hands. These anecdotes could not obviously be composed in the restricted areas available, and they are not dramatic. There are rows of persons in lyrical poses, as is observed also in the Jain palm-leaf paintings. The Badami and Ellora panels are dramatic and this choice of the relatively ineffective and mild panelling as also the choice of an elongated area for carving stories indicates the influence of the Jaina method. However, Kakatiya sculpture attempts to narrate Puranic incidents at Palampet. The square gap formed by the beams is covered by three triangular pieces at the corners leaving a median square, and again when its corners are covered, its smaller median square remains free. On the eight triangular spaces thus formed four at one level and four at a higher level we see the eight Dikpalakas. Agni has ten hands and the goat under his raised right leg. On either side are chowry bearers, adorning ladies, drummers and time keepers of heights and positions suiting the altitude at their places in the triangle. Yama has ten hands and his buffalo under his leg. The retinue are repeated. Varuna does not have his Yali but only ladies bearing chowries, swords and musical instruments by his side. The other Dikpalakas are according to this same pattern. So is the representation of the Dikpalakas with their consorts riding on their vehicles. Chalukyas carved them in the rectangular panels in the roofs and, standing in one position a visitor could not see all the eight figures erect. Three of them could be seen erect and two when he turns through a right angle, another two after a second turn, etc. The northern branches of the Cholas, the Nolambas of Hemavati, and minor kingly families who ruled at (or passed past) Veldurti in Kurnool District carved the figures of the Dikpalakas on the entrance door jambs in a vertical strip. This was a southern habit. Here at Palampet the Kakatiyas employed

25. Palakol Kshirarama temple, Daksharama votive temple, etc.

a circular pattern, which reveals itself in an erect position continuously as a visitor turns round himself. The sizes of the figures are determined by the vertical space available at the spot they are carved. The size endows centrality but a similar delimitation of the size of the retinue lining upto the corners of the triangles brings to our mind the Jain habit observed at Mathura of delimiting the size of worshippers of the tirthankaras to the size of the vertical height available between a square and an incircle of the same. . . . Blackstone is used here for the pillars, beams and roof as carving could be sure and accurate. The figures are almost in the round but for joints near the leg, waist, and helmet with the parikara, and we can't expect sculptures in the round over the roof! This kind of depth carving could have been achieved only by the jewellers using files instead of chisels to carve these panels. (The Hoysala sculptors 'Devoja' etc were jewellers as the endings of their names, are similar to the surnames of the present day goldsmiths.)

On the pial lining the inner edge of the square mandapa are mounted small temples one pair at each corner of the square. Hoysalas put such temples on either side of the stair case at the entrance, outside the temple. The mandapa here having been lighted adequately, the Kakatiyas thought that the temples had better be on the raised pial so that their sancta consisting of minor gods could be very well seen by devotees perambulating inside the mandapa. We see black stone figures installed in these temples. The attempt to carve the figures in the round is obvious in the cutting of the back plate round the outline of the figures. The Sun has the tiny heads of his seven horses under his feet and this is in accordance with the Chalukyan practice. (We see the lower portion of a broken icon at Kondiparti, mounted on a panavatta. The figure is of the Sun, as proved by the horses that are not destroyed). Vishnu is rigid, resembles Vasudeva of Hanumakonda. Saraswati wears an *akshamala*, the folds of her garment gathered before her folded legs resemble those of the Gadag Saraswati²⁶. Mahishamardani has the discus of Vishnu and his conch too, being his sister. On her right, below, the demon is in the alidha pose holding the curved sword. The lion (vehicle) of the goddess bites his thigh. On her left, below her shield, we see a buffalo with a bent neck and a demon on his back, in the alidha pose again²⁷. We see a further development of

26. Cousens - Chalukyan Architecture.

27. It is interesting to review the variety of the forms of Mahishamardani adopted by the different dynasties. The Pallavas showed the Devi standing on the severed buffalo's head of the demon at Mahabalipuram, though a later world-famous relief panel shows her shooting arrows at the buffalo-headed demon, holding his mace and beating retreat. The Rashtrakutas imitated this relief, giving the demon a human face and only a helmet with horns. The Cholas retained this shape of the demon, but showed him as collapsing under the pressure of the Devi's lance. The Badami Chalukyan figures show a buffalo only being disabled by being lifted up by the tail and pierced through his neck by the Devi's lance. In later figures his head is pressed back to hold his neck on itself, while the lance passes through his agonising body. The Pedamudiyam plaque carrying the cult deities of the Chalukyas, shows this early form of Mahishamardani. The Devi develops multiple arms in later Badami Chalukyan representations in red sandstone, as also on the figures carved by the eastern Chalukyas at Yelamanchili in the Visakhapatnam district. Later Chalukyan carving shows the demon issuing out of the cut neck of the buffalo (Alampur and Pattancheru (Potlacheruvu of those days) figures show this end). The eastern Chalukyas adopted this form at Biccavol. The Devi standing on the head of the buffalo (as in one of the Alampur figures); the same with the Chola ornamentation, vertical lines ending in circles for the mane of the lion, or flames issuing out of the devi's head; the buffalo lifted up by the tail were characteristic of Chola delineation. But the multiple armed devi can normally be attributed to the Pallavas, Cholas, Badami Chalukyas and the later Chalukyas. Interesting departures as in the Panagal temple miniatures, wherein the duel scene of Ellora is made more realistic by omitting all animal features of the demon, endow him with a defensive shield, faithful followers and courage to face the obviously superior multi-armed devi mounted on the fierce lion, who is biting a demon into two, while clawing another with both his front legs. This is due to a subsidiary Chola dynasty of Panagal. At Tripurantakam is a devi (now in the Madras Museum) using a bow and arrow against the demon under her foot. This is a Kakatiya figure; Kakatiyas used the arrows as their main weapons of attack.

this figure at Ghanpur five miles away. The sculptor cut the *parikara* along the outline of the bigger devi figure, while the demons are attached to the *parikara* on either side. In the other pial temples here, we see Ganesa and Bhairava. All these do not perhaps belong to the same period. On the architrave above the entrance to the temple proper we see Siva in his *tandava* pose. He has chowrie bearers, Kali and Ganesa as his retinue. The characteristic cornice above the door jamb appears as if supported by two slender pilasters, which carry miniature sculptures at two heights on their three sides. On the right one, we see general Rudra and his wife. The lady getting a thorn extracted from her foot, the one putting her *tilaka*, another feeding a parrot, the man on the palmyra and the one pulling down a lady trying to climb it are all problematic. Lattice work on either side of the door contains circles formed by a creeper, enclosing drummers and dancing girls (fig. 25). These are twenty dancers and forty drummers, thirty on each side as vertical rows of three. In spite of repetitions of the poses, the variety is pleasing. The ladies at the lower ends of the door jamb, five on each side, are in a palm grove (fig. 26); perhaps the Darukavana is intended. The beam below at the door step shows soldiers and snakes. The soldiers are holding bamboos, water gourd, chowry and plough. These figures are ten inches in height. The door jamb of the garbhagriha carries at its bottom face five figures—one a man and four ladies—on each side. It is interesting to note that multiple dwarapalikas are provided for the two main door jambs, while male dwarapalas are carved for the tiny conventional ornamental temples on the pial forming the inner lining of the mandapa and also the raised entrance mandapas in the prakara (or boundary wall) on the south and east. Groups of persons, instead of dwarapalas at the entrance door, are a characteristic feature of later Jain temples in the Kadamba region and the western Chalukyan capitals. The linga is flat-topped, two and half feet high and equally broad. The panavatta is a six feet square. Its snout is one yard long.

The reader would be wondering perhaps why I am describing the structural (architectural) details of the temples instead of sculpture alone. My submission is that a Kakatiya temple of this form served sculpture more than it did architecture. While the Hoysalas made their temples ivory caskets filled with baroque art, the Kakatiyas avoided the crowding of too much sculpture and made their temples welcome to devotees even if the attraction often times was a dance performance of a temple girl. Jyaya²⁸ the general of the elephant squadron of Ganapati's army composed a treatise 'Nrittaratnavali' and described in it popular dance traditions also. All the dance poses depicted in sculpture in this temple are examples of the art that was witnessed by the devotees sitting at ease round the mandapa on the pial and they are certainly not illustrations of classical dance poses of treatises. We see in the poses of the dancers on the outer surface of the pial, on either side of the entrance into the antarala and on the brackets of the pillars, a happy release of the dancer breaking into lyrical expression of the joy of life by several rhythmic poses. The dance poses with which the Hoysalas endowed their gods descended into Kakatiya sculpture not only as an influence but as an expression of a vital tendency to enjoy life, which characterised the wholesome being of the Kakatiyas. Former forests were cut down and vast tracts of land brought under the plough. Contour bunding made huge tanks, which irrigated these lands. Merchants like Avachi Tippaya brought pearls, silks and spices from overseas. Dance and song filled the life of the people. We have a peep at that life, when we see these temple sculptures.

28. My friend Sri N.S. Krishnamurthy drew my attention to the fact that this 'Jyaya' is a name of Ganesha.

OTHER TEMPLES OF PALAMPET

The eastern one of the two temples constructed by Rudra one at either end of the tank bund, has reddish sandstone pillars carrying the sculptures of dancers in several poses on all their four sides. These are also on the door jamb of the entrance. Dancers are single, while drummers are in pairs. One would naturally conclude that *nritta* was more popular than *nritya* or *natya* in those times. We see in sculpture, a freer release of limbs than the characteristic *mudras* or facial expressions belonging to *nritya* or lyrical dance. The long garland extending from the neck to the knees and below, suggests also the living design woven by the rhythmic movements of the limbs of the dancer. Only we do not come across in these figures, the comely delicate expressions we find in only Konarak.

One of the small temples to the west of the great temple has closed corners for its mandapa, it is a trikoota. It has a whole frieze of a four-handed deity (Kakati?) round the zig-zag plinth outline of the temple and it has low conical roofs over the portico and the squares of the mandapa.

At Ganpur, five miles away from Palampet, we see a temple similar to the great temple of Palampet but much shorter in height. May be the sinking of the stones of the Palampet temple by their heavy weight discouraged the builder there and made him err on the shortside. The Salabhanjikas or figure brackets at Ganpur appear natural with round and realistic faces and non-elongated heights (fig. 27). They are good enough to have been portraits of the famous dancers of those days. The temple is of the so called thousand pillared type. The general emphasis on the horizontal lines is jarring, but, at a height of five feet on the already raised temple (on the same level as the narrow but tall ornamental temple *sikhara* mounted on slender pilasters), we see very delicate bass relief frieze of deities, and dancers. This is certainly not intended to inspire the visitor. It is just a 'different' ornamental frieze.

KATAKSHAPUR

It must have been another general, who raised the Katakshapur pair of temples. Saivism and Vaishnavism were obviously competing with one another for popularity and the safest measure for a nobleman to adopt, was to construct one temple for each. We find that in Katakshapur. The temples are of the pattern of Rudresvara temple, but are smaller and appear to have been raised rather on a too high basement. The Vishnu temple contains in its sanctum, a big enough (4½ ft.) figure of Vishnu (probably Chennakesava) with four arms all mutilated by vandals. Slender and graceful, it is one of the most beautiful figures done by Kakatiya sculpture (fig. 28). The face looks solemn, but the excellent spread of the symmetry of the crown, *prabha* and ear ornaments endows the Lord with dignified benevolence. The parikara is rather too broad but the gap between the body of the lord and the parikara does good enough service in pushing the central figure into high relief. The characteristic western Chalukyan creeper above (this one ascends in rather too steep curves over the sculptures of Basava Kalyan) and the figures of the chowrie-bearers, Garuda and Lakshmi at the bottom clearly suggest that the *makaratorana* of the later times made in brass and set round the figures in the sanctum is only a remnant of the disappearing parikara of earlier days. One more very important—if very insignificant feature of this figure is the carving of the *avatars* of Vishnu in the circles of the floral design at the top edge. The beginning made here will be seen to have expanded in later figures to bigger sizes.

NAGNUR

Yet another trikoota was built at Nagnur this time by a father and son Malliseti and Venniseti. They installed Harisvara, Ganapesvara and Sakalesvara in that triple temple. We see on the inner faces of the beams lining the ranga mandapa single dancers with drummers on either side. The door jambs carry the usual figures (fig. 29). That these are just some figures and not any more is clear from the mother who holds a child! The nandi was thrown out along with its pedestal. Dancing deities are seen on the door jambs of the antaralas. We learn from Gangadhara's Karimnagar record that in the Vishnu temple of Nagnur, twenty four forms of Vishnu were carved. This feature in Vaishnavite art is interesting and rare. We find it now on the 'Jagmohan' before the Simhachalam temple and I do not remember to have seen it elsewhere. Nor are the 'Chaturvimsati-Vishnu' figures seen now at Nagnur. In Dharmasagaram, ten miles from Hanumakonda, were raised two temples. The linga there is flat topped and its edge bevelled.

NAGULAPADU

In 1234 A.D., Recherla Katreddy raised a thousand-pillared temple at Nagulapadu near Suryapet. This temple has all the spread of sculpture that the Palampet temple has, and also elaborate relief sculpture on the pilasters advancing and receding on the outer face of the garbhalaya and antarala. We can say that the culmination of the decorative sculpture on the outer face of the Kakatiya thousand-pillared temple was achieved on the Nagulapadu temple (fig. 30). The jarring monotony of the horizontal tiers of the adhistana (or basement) which strikes our eye at the Rudresvara temple of Hanumakonda, Yerakesvara temple of Pillalamarri and the Palampet temple is remedied here by the difference in the design of carving the edges of these tiers as well as by the visible contrast of their widths. The outsized half moon decoration is converted to rows of medium sized buds pointing downwards. The two stepped tiers at the bottom of the pilasters are happily broken (in the same way as was done in the Rudresvara at Hanumakonda) by studding dancers in arches. The curves of the arches present a happy contrast to the horizontal lines. The bass reliefs above these arches extend over the entire height of the plane surfaces of the pilasters and help to emphasise the vertical lines of the edges of the pilasters. The breaking of the horizontal bands by fine ornamental carving, the angular edges of the relief sikharas terminating in bold enough Kalasa interspaced by the groups of tiny dancers on the pilasters, the bold but broken horizontal tiers on the pilasters and the beautiful cornice with its rows of buds and slender, well spaced half-moon decoration on its upper edge, all form the marvel of prefabrication, which the Nagulapadu temple achieved. However, the sculptor proved unequal to the ambition of the builder, he carved the figures on the architraves on the doors in the temple with parallel bodies and legs too, thus destroying the delicacy of the carving—filing one should say—by the monotony of the vertical rows of legs. Pillar and pilaster decoration has reached its zenith at Nagulapadu, even the pilasters on either side of the antarala door jamb—which do not have reliefs on them in many other Kakatiya temples—carry decorative reliefs in this temple.

FORT TEMPLE - WARANGAL

Ganapatideva himself constructed in the Warangal fort a Kesava-Sri-Swayambhu temple. A later in testimony a literary work is that this temple had sikharas. We do not see this temple now, as it

was pulled down by a general Chitaphkhan of the Kutbshahi kings. But from the ruins now exposed by archaeological excavations, we can see that this was the most beautiful temple in the empire, from the viewpoint of sculpture, though the important parts of the sculptures we see now are fragments of the originals broken by hammer blows. The several pieces that are lying scattered in the area at the centre of the fort help us to rebuild in our imagination, the original form of the temple. The sanctum enshrined a Chaturmukha²⁹ linga (fig. 31, 32), a linga with four faces on the four sides. Judging from its size, polish and accuracy of carving this one is the best of its type. The big bull (fig. 32-a) with its hind part worn out by devotees beating their heads on it, now in Sambhunigudi was the bull facing Swayambhusiva. His pedestal composed of red and black stone planks is lying in the pit along with other pieces. Fig. 33 is the vertical jamb of the antarala and fig. 34 on the same plate is the pilaster by its side. We see also the perforated plate that accompanies the pilaster. (This is not a single piece but one synthesized with three carved pieces. The cylindrical one was done on a lathe.) Fig. 35 was the architrave of the antarala of the Swayambhu temple. We see Siva dancing in the centre, his bull sitting under his right leg, Vishnu dances on his left and Brahma on his right. Their vehicles Garuda and Hamsa are smaller in size. The Western Chalukyan creeper with mango like buds at the ends, overhangs the architrave, which is certainly an elegantly decorated piece, showing and saving the action of all the characters carved including the Dikpalakas at the top corners! The design of their curved heights is completely fulfilled by the stir and action portrayed. A huge circular blackstone formed the floor of the rangamandapa at the centre of the (triple?) temple and fig. 36, was the central part of the roof of the rangamandapa, which is now erected in the Hyderabad Museum. It is obvious, from the want of symmetrical fixing of the several triangular pieces and the rectangle in the centre, that this was not the original arrangement. The fact that only one triangular piece once belonging to this arrangement is to be found built into the wall near the northern gate of the Warangal fort indicates that possibly many pieces could not have got scattered and lost. I am tempted to guess that the triple temple for Kesava - Sri - Swayambhu had Vaishnavite panels of fig. 36 towards the Kesava temple, lady panels (there are two of them here) towards the Sri or Lakshmi temple and Saivite panels for the Swayambhu temple. These last show very accurate and delicate work with the chisel and file. The ingenuity of composition is obvious in the Brahma panel, wherein the central figure of the small groups on either side of Brahma is emphasized by its height, and plenty of clear space was allotted to Brahma in the centre. However the gap on his left side is adequately filled by a full human figure to balance the bent knee of Brahma and the beak of his vehicle. The variety of the poses of the retinue is not only natural but artistic too. The general left-ward aspect of the group required six figures in the right as against four in the left! It is interesting to note that all the other panels are balanced by equal number of devotees on either side. I would draw the reader's attention to the panel where Lakshmi is shown (fig. 37) in an unusual war-like pose made doubly vigorous by the action of the retinue. One special feature of

29. Sadasiva is sculptured as a linga, studded with five faces, one at the top and four on four sides. These heads have separate names too. Such lingas were found in North India and it is quite probable that the Chaturmukha linga was introduced in the South by the north Indian Saivite gurus. At Jyoti in the Cuddapah district, we see a dhara linga or multi-sided linga with four faces on the four sides with a neck too as for the Rashtrakuta pillars. The top surface of this linga has a double curvature, concave round the edge and convex at the top. This type of curvature is found on the lingas installed by the Telugu Chodas of Nellore and serves in general as an identifying characteristic. We see them at Krishnapatnam, Nellore and places round about. The next prominent Chaturmukhalinga is due to Kakatiyas, the one seen now at Kalesvaram and another at Warangal. The chaturmukha linga seen at the extreme end of the lane following the river near the Kalahasti temple beyond Manikantesvara was probably installed by later Cholas. One of the faces there has tusks at either side of the mouth.

this total arrangement is the fact that the single or double rows of animals carved on the vertical edges of the bases of the triangular slabs provided equal ornamental effect whether seen erect or inverted !

The four pillars supporting this precious roof at the Hyderabad Museum must have been the original pillars in the Warangal temple, padmas formed inner roof and fig. 38 formed one of the cross capitals of the pillars. Fig. 39 shows the outer face of the parapet of the pial lining the inner edge of the mandapa. Fig. 40, shows seven of the lions which formed the figure brackets at the tops of the pillars. Such lion brackets are found at Palampet, Ganpur, Tripurantakam and in the collector's residence at Hanumakonda. Looking at these lions posed on the heads of elephants, one is reminded of the small lions standing on the heads of profile elephants on either side of the thrones of tirthankaras. Could this bigger motif have been borrowed from the Jain or Buddhist example? The elephant in fig. 41 stood on one side of the entrance to the temple with its counterpart on the other side.

The special distinction of this great temple is the possession of the four gate-ways—Toranas—famous for their size, grandeur and beauty (fig. 42). The double vertical pillars are the result of a brilliant stroke of imagination adequately and completely supporting the broad architraves with the beautiful pairs of swans sitting at either end. Figures of the Sun, Yakshas and (curiously) of Padmavati (the Yakshini of Parsvanatha) were carved on the architraves (the last one on the south side of the southern torana. These toranas appear to be the final culmination of the effort to build up an imposing doorway to a fort or temple. It started at Hanumakonda (fig. 1), improved at Kolanupaka and beautified at Ainavolu (fig. 43)*.

Here at Warangal, we see four toranas, obviously forming the four entrances to the temples. If a stellate mandapa existed at all, it would have been between the northern torana and the temple proper: we see even to-day the basement outline of a stellate structure at that place. That this temple was not dedicated to only one deity is clear from the testimony of Kreedabhirama, a Telugu poetical work describing Warangal of those days. A record of Chitaph Khan alias Sitapati in Warangal says that he reinstalled Krishna (Kesava) and Lakshmi at Warangal (These have been destroyed).

A fragment of a bold relief of Vishnu (fig. 44), seen in the present day ruins of this temple (destroyed in the times of Ibrahim Kutub Shah of Golconda) could have been the image of the Kesava temple. There are small sized worshippers seen on either side of his feet, and the mace indicates Kesava or Vasudeva. That figure could not be a dwarapala. The separation of the figure from the parikara, so characteristic of the figure sculpture of Ganapati's times is seen in this. It is also possible that this could be a figure installed in one of the pial temples inside the mandapa if such ones were added at all. Decorative sculpture reached its zenith of admixture in this temple. We see rows of lions, elephants, lions on elephants, single dancers, pairs of dancers, drummers, ladies in different poses (figs. 45a, 45b, 45c),

*In this last place a stone arch is found in the three sides of the stone prakara, which surrounds another inner boundary wall of the temple there. The main temple at Ainavolu was built - according to local records - by Rudra. Mailarudeva is a popular deity in north-east Andhra and also in Maharashtra, where he is known as Khande-
raya. One of Ganapati's generals perhaps built the stellate mandapa now seen before that temple. The roof of this mandapa is not flat; it is a short cone of several facets and this type of roof is found again only on the small trikoota to the west of the great temple at Palampet. This kind of roof does not appear elsewhere and we can therefore assign this mandapa to the times of Ganapati. Ainavolu has the distinction of a second prakara and the third stage torana adorns all the three entrances provided in that prakara.

worshippers with garlands of flowers, four-handed yoga Vishnu figures, flowers, swans and a judicious jumble of these were carved in long rows, vertically in door jambs and horizontally on the backs of veranda benches of stone, parapet walls, and cross capitals.

Last but not least, a mention must be made of a head (fig. 54), of a height of about two and half feet, now to be seen in the area of the then fort temple. This sculpture in the black stone used for Kakatiya sculpture, is called "Pratapa Rudra's head". This temple was built in the times of Ganapati deva, and this prominent sculpture could not belong to Pratapa Rudra's times. The 'flames' protruding on either side of the helmet or *jatamakuta*, the third eye and the row of skulls round the crown, could indicate Shiva. It could also represent Ekavira or Renuka, often worshipped as a head only.

Spirit of the Age :

During the Western Chalukyan regime, carving of puranic stories on pillars and lyrical aspects of deities in niches were the general practices. This was undoubtedly the result of the religious movements spreading from different centres in the north and south. The advent of Basavesvara, Veerasaivism, Vaishnavism from the south, the political turmoil in Kalyan and Kanchipura and the spread of the new kingdoms of the Yadavas, Kakatiyas, Hoysalas, Pandyas and Telugu Cholas, threw conventions of art, life and religion into a huge confusion and the joy of life, consciousness of might and love of decoration characterised the sculpture of the Kakatiyas, the architecture of the Yadavas and the Hoysalas respectively. The Kakatiyas sprung up from the soil, ruled and conquered by their valour, strove for the establishment of a welfare state by constructing numerous large tanks, patronised learned religious pontiffs, created fiefs for feudals and released people in general from the iron bonds of tradition and its authority over them. As a result, the gods of the puranas dressed in the pearl jewelry of the times started dancing in joy even as so many temple girls did. Nor were they insistent on the traditional retinue. Their vehicles served only as symbols, their retinue only to play second fiddle to their ecstasy and their weapons as ornaments. Sex was not of any significance, male deities could have female retinue, on the door jambs as at Katakshapur, Palampet and Jakaram, or mixed retinue as at Hanumakonda, Palampet and Kondiparti and dwarapals only as at the Swayambhu temple. (These dwarapalas are to be seen now in the Veerabhadra temple to the east of the Swayambhu temple ruins). Gods enjoyed their visit to the earthen world in recurrent rows, along with devotee crowds, on the triangular ceiling panels, and in unostentatious mixture of ornamental carving on the friezes. The instincts of animals got sublimated and they gathered the company of birds. Dancers and yogis, hunters and deities, soldiers and gods, sunk their differences and lined up. The naked Jaina guru, the dressing maiden, the family diety and the all pervading Vishnu came down to sit together on stone to entertain and enlighten the multitudes that came to worship in temples. Serene worship was followed by *angabhoga*, *naivedya*, *deepa*, *dhoopa*, *tambula* — all the eight kinds of offerings³⁰ and finally by dance and song even in Jain temples! Visitors could be seated on the stone benches in the verandahs and witness the dance recital at the centre of the ranga mandapa even as the gods installed in the three temples round the rangamandapa did. The resuscitation of the vigour of human life in that area which was an erstwhile jungle blossomed in an enthusiastic inflorescence of sculpture on every inch of stone that was dressed up, yet avoiding the vexatious opulence of design and ornament. *Pramana* is observed in the central figures, and *lavanya* in the delicacy of the limbs and the rhythm of the

poses. *Sadrisyam* again is visible in the weapons and vehicles though not in the composition nor in the other minor characters. *Rupabheda* is not so patent though *bhava* is not altogether neglected. The retinue of Brahma on his *hamsa* and the Chennakesava of Katakshapura show expression in their faces, while the poses of the limbs are expressive of the spirit within, which is almost always the joy of life.

VEERAKALS

Devotion to faith and devotion to duty flowed into distinct channels of sculptural representation. Devotion to duty was rewarded by commemoration of the event on a Veerakal or herostone. Unequal fight resulting in the death of the handicapped soldier appears to have started this class of sculpture. We see in the Kakatiya empire veerakals of several types. At about a hundred yards north-east of the eastern gate of Warangal fort, we see veerakals of a number of infantrymen and horsemen in action*. The special feature of these veerakals is that the heroes have umbrellas of honour above them. They were generals or nobles. At Ainavolu, we see a lancer with his shield. On the play ground at Pattancheruvu is the veerakal for a king. He has a shield and he lifts his hand with a sword. In Somasila at the south-western border of the Nellore district, fig. 46, Plate III, we see a huge stone showing a rider in action and I am tempted to assign it to this period as it has an umbrella above the hero. In Gudimallam and Pushpagiri we see archers in action, (Fig. 47). The Kakatiya army was credited with having nine lakhs of bowmen and the above two places were invaded and conquered by the Kakatiyas. The dress of these heroes agree with that of men in Kakatiya decorative sculpture. Heroes, who died fighting to release cattle from the hands of robbers were also commemorated this way. At Veldurti near Dronachalam, we see a hero stone raised for such a one. A herd of cattle in the lower third of a stone, a battle in the centre and the hero being taken to heaven by celestial chowry bearers in the top-most part, is the full form of such a stone. Actually all the three scenes may not be found but any two would clinch this type of hero stone as one raised to commemorate a defender of cattle. All these hero stones have one characteristic. They all depict the hero in action more prominently than they do the consequence of the action, i.e. the hero's lift to heaven. This is a realistic representation.

VEERASAIVA DELUGE

Devotion to faith gave rise to a distinct branch of sculpture known as Veerasaiva sculpture in the times of Kakatiyas. Due to the unrest caused by the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni many north Indian Saivite pontiffs migrated from Dahala region** the region between the Narmada and the Ganges—. Even in the times of Prola - II, a 'Tridandi' came and settled in Hidimbarama. The Kalachurya rebellion in 1160 A.D. followed by the upsurge of the Veerasaivites brought about heroic deeds of devotion like the cutting off of one's own head as an offering to Siva or Sakti. One of the panels at Mahabalipuram shows a devotee trying to cut off his head before the Devi. Neither the Chalukyas nor the Cholas appear to have followed nor portrayed this grotesque form of worship. With the advent of Ekantarama and the patronage of Basavesvara this horrid wave of devotion—rolled over the Kannada and Western Andhra tracts. One immediate effect was the destruction of Jains, who do not recognise a Godhead. Their temples were levelled, their tirthankara figures broken and they were put to the sword in the name of religion. In

*I am indebted to Sri D. Somesvararao of Hanumakonda for showing these to me.

**Markapuram record—Verse 23.

Kalyan alone, two lakhs of Jains were said to have been killed. Whatever be the truth of that tradition, we see to-day numberless remnants of the destruction of Jain shrines and sculptures all over the Andhra and the Karnataka countries. Kolanupaka was a strong-hold of the Jains and there were at that place distinct temples for all the twenty-four tirthankaras. All these temples were occupied by Saivites and converted into Siva temples. Basaveswara's Saivism was not drawn from the Vedas, he derided the Vedic beliefs and practices. Mallikarjuna Panditaradhya, who hailed from Daksharama, interpreted the Vedas in a way to lead to Saivism and spread that cult in coastal Andhra. At Daksharama, in the Godavary delta, the Kolani kingdom, and the Velanatichoda tracts of Guntur District he caused wide destruction of Jain shrines. We see at Penumanchili, Achanta, Penugonda, Sivaganga (near Masulipatam), Kolanupaka, and many other places fragments of Jain thirthankara sculptures, mutilated in all possible ways. At Chandavol there was a religious disputation between Pandita and a Buddhist guru, the result being the murder of that guru by the followers of Pandita. Tradition has it that Pandita surrendered his eyes at once for that outrage but got them back at Amaravati, where he received a letter and *bhasma* from Basavesvara. We see broken Jain figures at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. Pandita Aradhya's Saivism found favour in the Kakatiya dominions and a large number of his followers live in and around Hanumakonda to this day. The destruction of the Jain temples of Hanumakonda and Warangal followed the visit of the great Telugu poet Tikkana of Nellore.*

Ganapati received the great poet with royal honours, heard the Bharata expounded by Tikkana and arranged a religious disputation between him and the Hanumakonda Jains³¹. The result was unfavourable to the Jains and their temples were pulled down and icons destroyed. The blackstone Jain figures now lying in the Chitaph Khan mahal would have lost their heads at that time. Ganapathi undertook a southern military campaign and first defeated the Velanati Chodas of Chandavol. The Velanati Chodas were great patrons of Jaina religion and Saivism supplanted the Jainism of Chandavol. The Siva temple of that place is stellate in its rear, the huge linga rising higher than a man's height (and representing jyotirlinga) could have been polished to that glassy smoothness only by the sculptors who knew the nandi of Palampet. We see another of its type in the Vijayawada Museum. A huge Ganapathi in red sandstone (now seen in the Vishnu temple of Chandavol) and the outsized sandstone nandi in a deserted garden were probably made and installed after this invasion. This Ganapathi figure has a very very small area of the parikara still left at his back, his form having been worked almost in the round. The expedition pressed on southwards, destroyed Uppugundur Jain establishment, and reached Nellore. The Jain centre near the present day darga in Nellore was destroyed and the Parsvanatha figure there mutilated (this one is now embedded in the basement of the Judge's bungalow). The big tank of Nellore was then constructed. Manumasiddha was reinstated and as a token of gratitude he installed his tutelary deity Ranganadha at Elesvaram on the Kakatiya side of the river Krishna. That figure made in granite and endowed with the polish of the Palampet nandi is easily the best figure of Ranganatha

*There were ancient Chola families of rulers at Kalkada in the Chittoor District, Pottapi in Cuddapah and Konidena in the Guntur district. The Pottapi Cholas branched off to Nellore and ruled there for a considerable period, during twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Manumasiddha II, who was ruling there during Ganapati's times suffered reverses in battle from his cousins Ayyana and Bayyana and was driven out. Tikkana of his court was a great poet and philosopher. He undertook a journey to Warangal to persuade Ganapati to intervene and reinstate his patron Manumasiddha. The errand was a cent per cent success.

31. Somadevarajiyam by Kuchmanchi Jaggakavi.

now seen in any temple. Thanks to the untiring effort of Dr. R. Subrahmanyam of the Archaeological Survey of India, he lies now at Nagarjunakonda to bless the great lake from one point on its brim. All along the path of Ganapathi to Nellore, we see along the big line of villages, carrying a suffix 'Padu' after their names, Veerakals of archers and Sati stones. The Ganapathi and Virabhadra on Nellore tank bund were installed only then. The invasion proceeded as far south as Kanchi in the south. The foundation of Ekavirakshetra at Athirala in Cuddapah district and Palakkad in Arcot district could have been due to Ganapathi.

VEERASAIVA HERO STONES

The most important result of this invasion was the spread of Veerasaiva sculpture in the southern Andhra districts. This branch was entirely an offshoot of the popular movement. Just as Amaravati sculpture was the fruit of a popular awakening to the possibility of universal emancipation, Veerasaiva sculpture was the fruit of resurgent theism waiting to assert itself to the detriment of intellectual negation of a godhead, who when accepted, could very easily be the refuge of an emotional surrender. This wave of daring Veerasaiva devotion submerged the other religions in Andhra Pradesh for two or three centuries. In the Hyderabad and Golkonda Museums we see a number of Veerasaiva devotees (fig. 48 Plate III), who are cutting their throats or stomachs in fulfilment of a vow of theirs. Celestial messengers wave their chowries on either side indicating heavenly bliss as their reward. The religious attire they put on is interesting. Their head-dress is characteristic. Sex is no obstacle nor criterion and ladies are also doing the same sacrifice as men. They are cutting their necks from the front, not from the back. The Kannada practice was to cut the neck from the back as seen in the Kambadur sculptures. A Rayadurgam sculpture shows a devotee falling as a felled tree on a row of lances arranged in a line. Kreedabhiramam, the Telugu poem of the fifteenth century describes in a long verse the horrid exploits of Mailaru devotees. Some jumped on to red hot fire of glowing charcoal; some sat in slings tied over pits set with arrows pointing upwards and cut the slings with knives. We see at Nellore, a sculpture showing this (fig. 49). The Veerasaivites in Ganapati's army might have shown these exploits. The characteristic head-dress of the group in Hyderabad is seen over this figure also. He is cutting the rope of the cradle he is sitting in. The fold of his left leg to ensure stability and the stretch of his right one to keep the rope stretched, speak of his tenacious resolve and reckless abandon of the transitory comforts of life. Some (says Kreedabhiramam) pierced the skin of their heads with a link and swung in the air suspended by that link. Such a figure is seen in Vol. II of the Telugu Bhasha Sarvasvam. Nellore and Mallam (the capital of a Naga line of princes) sculptures show a throat chipper (Kantha Kattera) with two hilts to be operated by two hands from behind the neck. This naga modification of the instrument of self immolation facilitates the cut-head falling on the feet of the deity. On the outer boundary wall of Sri Sailam, which was a great centre for Kapalikas from the times of Bhavabhuti (7th century), we see a Kapalika offering his cut-head in a plate to the lord! At Veldurti is seen a very interesting sculpture of a religious sacrifice. Down below, we see two men on an elephant. One has a sword in his hand, the other is the mahout. In the centre are two seated devotees without their heads. Their hair was tied to a bent branch of a tree and their heads cut off in accordance with their wish by the man on the elephant. The branch goes up with the heads in the second panel. The third and top panel shows the two devotees being taken up by celestial chowry bearers. (Otherwise the panel could be describing a punishment). On the riverside at the same place, there is a second one similar to this.

VEERASAIIVA HEROES

Fighting to death in a crusade was considered heroic and was commemorated on stone. At Amarapur in the south-west corner of the Anantapur district, at Pushpagiri and Nellore, (a number of sculptures are gathered in the Zilla Parishad Museum) we see soldiers of a religious war commemorated. But, what is more interesting is the type of sculpture depicting solemn vows, which precede the daring fulfilment described already. At Madanapalli (college hall), Veldurti, Yaganti and Nellore, we see sculptures of devotees vowing by the side of a lance (fig. 50 Plate IV). They would either bend it by pressing their palm on its sharp head or immolate themselves on it (at Hyderabad we see one or two burning camphor (incense) in their palms! fig. 59 Plate IV). In Nellore (fig. 51 and 58 pl. IV) and we see a hero brandishing a bent sword after bending the head of a lance. Another of this type is in Pushpagiri. A vow is also taken with a tiny panavatta and linga in the right palm, keeping the left one as a canopy over the linga. We see a representation of this in the temple at Jaladanki (Nellore district) and also at Rajahmundry (near Ramakrishna *math*) and Madanapalli. All these places were within the empire of Ganapatideva and Veerasaivism was responsible for the above described sculptures.

SAHASRALINGA

Ganapatideva completed the Warangal fort walls in mud and stone. It was probably in his times that the Sahasralinga Ganapati temple (now wrongly called Venkatesvaralaya) was built. The Sahasralinga in that temple is said to be the one now to be found in the *mandapa* of the Kasibugga temple (fig. 52). We see a *sahasralinga* in Alampur but we do not know to which period it belongs. The eastern Chalukyas made a huge eight feet linga in the shape of an elongated drum and covered it with horizontal and vertical ridges to throw into medium relief, a 'thousand lingas'. Such *sahasralingas* are to be seen at Panchadharala in the Vishakapatnam district and at Chejerla in the Guntur district. An interesting type of *ashtothara sata linga* is found in Nellore at one of the outer back corners of the Moolasthanesvara temple. On a stone cylinder are bored small holes into which the pegs of small lingas are driven, so as to make the original linga look like one studded uniformly with lingas all over its surface. In Pillalamarri, in a twelfth century temple, the Yerakesvaralaya, a cylindrical linga rises to one foot above the panavatta and then to nine inches more with a larger diameter. The small lingas to make the multiple linga are cut on this portion of larger diameter. The Sahasralinga (now in Kasibugga) was installed in Warangal originally by one Mantu Annayya and named Sahasralinga Ganapatishvara.

VEERABHADRA

The temple of Veerabhadra is said to be the one adjoining the excavated pit of Warangal on its east. A figure of Veerabhadra (fig. 53) is seen within the Sambhunigudi. That one could very well have been the image of this Veerabhadra temple, judging from its size which is comparable to that of the Hidimbarama Virabhadra (fig. 10). In this piece at Warangal Veerabhadra has completely come out of the parikara. The carving is quite vigorous though the portion above the waist does not become the portion below with the alert position of the legs and vigorous wielding of the weapons. The cutting of the parikara indicates Ganapati's period and there are records of his period announcing gifts to Virabhadra.

In the Golconda Museum, we see another Veerabhadra. He is very calm, conventional and meek. I would like to go one step further and say that he was made by Jains newly converted to Saivism. Daksha is not there, the body line of Veerabhadra's right is after the body line of girls in Jain miniature painting. The upper edge of the parikara is rounded off as for Ghanpur Mahishamardani of Ganapati's times. I personally feel that the Veerabhadra of Koravi belongs also to Ganapati's times, for he has a general resemblance to this Warangal figure (fig. 53). Koravi was an early Chalukyan centre but the warrior Veerabhadra loomed over the horizon only with the rise of aggressive Veerasaivism, his prior form being committed to the *veena*, as he sat by the side of the Saptamatikas³². At Veldurti (then included in the Kakatiya empire), we see in the Veerabhadra temple, a Chola Veerabhadra (with the characteristic face of a lion on his belt), thin jewelry, natural human form and a parikara trimmed round the body outline. The Vardhamanapur (conquered by Rudra) Veerabhadra approaches the human form so closely that he appears to have shed all traces of his supernatural powers to be more a petrified actor standing to represent Virabhadra. This figure was due to the Kandur Cholas, who were favouring the Jains and that partly explains the meekness of this Virabhadra.

ARCHITRAVES

The architraves of the Swayambhu temple echoed in other small temples round about Warangal. The Ramalingesvara temple of Mattewada and the so-called Anjaneya temple of Hanumakonda are two examples. On the architrave above the doorway of the Ramalingesvara, we see Brahma, Kumara,³³ Siva and Ganapati dancing. Each has a pair of drummers and time-keepers on either side. The vehicles are omitted entirely. On the door jamb of the Anjaneya temple of Hanumakonda we see much taller figures. Siva with eight hands and of a height about one foot—is seen dancing in the centre. Vishnu and Ganapati are on one side and Kumara and Brahma on the other side of Siva. The 'cornice' for the door jamb and the Gajalakshmi are there as usual. The groups have never been dramatic, they are only lyrical. These door jambs would have belonged to two old temples of the times of Ganapati, for, Anjaneya was unknown to Kakatiya sculpture, and Ramalingesvara was not mentioned in the records of those days found at Mathewada. The beginning of architrave carving made in the times of Rudra found their culmination in Ganapati's times.

SCULPTURE IN OTHER TEMPLES

Sculptures forming the images of temples outside Warangal are also interesting. In the Hyderabad Museum we see a bold relief of Bhirava standing in a graceful pose. He has four hands: the right two holding a damaruka and a sword, the left ones holding a dish of blood and a western Chalukyan trident with

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32. Curiously, Veerabhadra on one of the triangular panels of Swayambhu temple, holds a *veena*, not the sword and shield !
33. The early example of the Pallavas endowing Kumara with three front heads, seen at Gudimallam was continued through ages and is seen here and elsewhere on Kakatiya temples. Even while he sits on a peacock with his consort, he is endowed with triple heads as in the Hyderabad Museum figure (fig. 55). Yaganti of Kurnool district has an interesting Kumara with six heads in a line as for the Vengi Ravana. That figure is in red sandstone and possibly belonged to the Badami Chalukyas. Standing Kumara is seen in marble at Nagarjunakonda, and also in the Alampur Museum in sandstone. He is found standing beside his consort in tribhanga pose in western Chalukyan sculpture at Badami and also at Alampur.

double curved prongs. His dishevelled hair is a type by itself with rings at the ends, like the mane of Bezvada lions and the Chola lion Vehicle. Nataraja of the Chalukyas is not seen with flowing hair, that distinction being characteristic of the Chola one.³⁴ Kakatiya Nataraja is after the Chalukyan one only. This Bhirava could have been the image of the Bhirava temple of Warangal described in Kreedabhirama. He has a full parikara but he is too good to belong to Rudra's times. The crude ten-foot tall Bhirava of Mogilicherla could have been a very early Kakatiya figure and the Kasibugga Bhirava is too meek and calm, he was made according to the Hoysala spirit. A later figure presented by a Rajahmundry merchant to the Srisailem temple resembles this Kasibugga one. Both were perhaps later additions.

BRAHMA

In Hanumakonda itself, one or two figures are seen even to-day in the temples, which are attributable to Ganapatis' times. Brahma is seen in one temple. He has three heads visible the fourth being on the rear side. He holds a *pasa* and a *srik* in his back hands and plays on a *veena* with the front ones. On his side is Saraswati, also playing the *veena*. At either end in the bottom, there is a devotee. The jewelry round Brahma's waist and below, and the tribhanga pose indicate Hoysala influence and the bold parikara without any holes indicates an early period of Ganapatis' rule. We see other figures, as for instance Bhirava and Kakati with these characteristics, under the trees in Hanumakonda.

Ganapathi established a vast empire comprising of Kalinga on the east, Potlacheruvu (modern Pattancheru) on the west, and Kanchi in the south. His armies tread over the length and breadth of south India and along with the religious traditions of the Veerasaivites, sculptural preferences too spread over the empire. The polish perfected to its limit at Palampet is seen on the huge lingas (in granite, not in the softer black stone) of Vijayawada and Chandavol, on the Jain figures of Vijayawada (Museum) and Nellore (Narasimha temple). The red sandstone Ganapati and nandi of Chandavol, the big figures of Kakati (or Chamunda) at Bapatla, (Brahman) Kraka, Kota (Nellore district), Rapur, Somasila, Gudimallam, Chippili, and a hundred other places, were the influence of Kakatiya sculpture on the southern states.

34. The Pancheesvara temple of Panagal has a shower of very delicate sculpture on it. Its miniature size makes us remember the architrave sculpture of the Kakatiyas but the general characteristics so obviously different from the Kakatiya habit, rule out the possibility of that temple being due to Kakatiyas. One such feature is the dishevelled hair of Nataraja. A second is the shape of his trident which resembles the morsing (musical instrument vibrated by the finger and modulated by the tongue). Such tridents are found in Chola sculpture. A third is the absence of beards for Brahma and the absence of the Vanamala so invariably present in Kakatiya sculpture. Multiple hands so often given to deities are missing. Dikpalas are shown on their vehicles along with their consorts and this is a rare in Kakatiya sculpture. The head-dress, waist bands and lower attire of ladies at Panagal is different from what we see elsewhere. Flames round the head of Agni are shown here as arrows in the same way as they appear over the head of Chola Nataraj. The Siraschakra so often seen (in Kakatiya sculpture) round the head behind, is not seen here. The Characteristic creeper with buds resembling mango as overhanging as a canopy is missing. This temple does not have the ranga-mandapa for the dancer. Its plan follows the plan of the Degam temple. The faces of the figures are like the faces seen in Ambur, to the west of Bellary (See 'Chalukyan Architecture' by H. Cousens).

VI. RUDRAMADEVI

Rudrama, Ganapathi's daughter succeeded him in 1260 A.D. She had to face lots of troubles in the early period of her rule. But two of her generals, Ambadeva of Vallur (in the Cuddapah district) and Gannareddy from Vardhmanapura rallied to her assistance and destroyed all opposition and fortified her position. She too set upon building forts for the consolidation of defence. Raichur was fortified and Warangal fort wall was provided with stone steps on its rear side to facilitate defenders going up to the battlements, and escape devices like the temple of Machaladevi were built under the mud walls of the fort (fig. 56). Her particular interest appears to have been to destroy the feeling of separatism of the castes, she gave her daughter Ruyyamma in marriage to a brahmin minister of hers. She worshipped the Veerasaiva devotees like Sivadevayya and donated large tracts of land to enable them to build Golakis or mathas. She annexed popular support by making frequent pilgrimages to Mogilicherla (Ekavira was installed there), Vaddapalli (Vinayaka), Ainavolu (Mailarudeva) and patronising the festivals there.*

Rudramma was married to Chalukya Veerabhadra the grandson of Mahadeva I of the family of Chalukyas claiming to hail from Kollipaka but ruling actually from Nidadavole, in the West Godavari district. She was said to have adopted two daughters (Mummadamma and Ruyyamma) and married them to Mahadeva II, Virabhadra's brother³⁵, and Induluri Anna of the second Kolanu dynasty³⁶. Thus the loyalty of coastal Andhra was made certain. It must have been due to this intimate relationship that Kakatamma and Ekavira the family deities of the Kakatiyas were established at Mandapaka in the West Godavari district. Nidadavole itself has two temples of the past

*The worship of female deities like Kakati, Ekavira (or Renuka), and Kamesvari appears to have developed to their zenith in the times of Rudramma. In the Museum at Munagala in the then Natavadi region there are many figures of Kakati. Even-to-day, in Warangal, there are hosts of these figures. The worship of Ellamma or Renuka spread along with that of Chamunda. There was a temple for Ekavira in the Warangal fort even after a century rolled on, following the fall of the Kakatiyas. In these temples a *Nagnakabandha* was the image and it is said that the worshipping women had to be naked too. However some of these would have contained the head of Renuka as a symbol of her severed head. There are some ladies' heads being worshipped even now in the Warangal fort area. At Undavalli near Alampur a head is being worshipped under the name Hemala. All over Andhra, Ellamma or Renuka is worshipped as a head. Kamesvari has no anthropomorphic form. She is symbolised as a coconut placed on a Kalasa containing coloured water and mango leaves. The vessel is spotted with Vermillion and saffron. These three deities Chaudesvari (or Chamunda) Ellamma and Kamesvari are specially worshipped before all festive occasions by Nandavareek—Maharashtra—and Coastal Andhra brahmin families to-day. I think that this custom originated in the Kakatiya times as an influence of the worship Chamundi under the name Kakati by the royal family.

35. This would mean that Mahadeva married his brother's daughter! Could it be that Nidadavole is called the 'Panchamahapataka pattana' due to this?

36. History of Andhras, subsidiary dynasties by V. Yasoda devi.

and the Saivite Sculptures on the pillars of the fallen mandapa of the old Golingesvara temple show the fervour of the devotees of Siva. We see at this single place, a relief of Akkamahadevi, the naked lady Saivite mendicant of the times of Allama Prabhu. On the top of the two old temples, right above the door, we see the figures of mendicants in the padmasana posture. That was the age of *sivayogis* and possibly the figure of the mendicant, who sponsored the founding of the temple, would have been installed above the door. We see the figure of a mendicant (Aghorasiva) in the niche at the back of the Sahasralinga Ganapati temple of the Warangal fort, and also at Pedakallepalli. In the Kumararama near Samalkot there are the figures of several thick haired mendicants. At Veldurti, Pottapi, Sangam and Nellore (in the Irugolamma temple-court), there are figures of the mendicants, who were mainly responsible for the establishment of the temples concerned. It was perhaps a movement that spread through the empire... The Bhirava figures at Nidadavole, Mandapaka and Vengi are not fierce, Chalukya Vira Bhadra — Rudramma's consort—was not [fierce! The Hoysala example seen in the Kasibugga temple near Warangal is found to have been adopted in the Chalukyan and Kolani principalities alike. In Konidevna, a Telugu Choda capital in the Guntur district, however, the Veerabhadra of Sambhunigudi was borrowed with all his dynamism. With further Chola influence as he proceeded south, Veerabhadra wears fine jewelry and earns only an ordinary place in the Nellore Choda pantheon at Gauravaram and Muthukur.

Rudramma endowed lands and gifts to Saivite *acharyas* and enabled them to establish prosperous colonies like Mandara near Guntur. These were called golakis. Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah district was one such place. We see in that small village on the Pennar, many temples on both sides of the river. The Vaijanatha temple was raised probably in memory of Prola's general Vaijadandanatha. We see the rare Sri Chakra made in three dimensions (fig. 60, Pl. V) in stone in the Kamakshi shrine of that temple. Indresvara temple (in memory of Rashtrakuta Indra), Visvesvara temple, trikuta of the Kakatiyas, Chennakesava of Hoysalas, Bhimesvara of the Vijayanagar period, there are any number of temples in Pushpagiri.

In the Veranda of the Vaijanatha temple, we see several sculptures, veerakals, and puranic sculptures. One veerakal shows an archer with a fully drawn bow (fig. 46), another a *mailaru bhata* (fig. 58, pl. XIV) who bent a sword by pressing his hold on one end of it keeping it vertical, and is about to bend another. He would break the head of the lance also. The pious Veerasaiva cutting off the heads of Svetambara Jains (fig. 57) is a peculiar worker for spiritual merit. We read the boasts of one of his friends in a Srisailam record. A husband has lighted camphor on his palm and his wife on one of hers (fig. 59). Many other sculptures might have gone down into the earth due to their weight as yearly rains softened the soil.

OTHER SHRINES

The Srisailam temple has a big sized Kakatiya nandi in the mandapa before the temple. The sahasralingesvara in one of the niches is like the Kasibugga one, it could have been one presented by the Kakatiyas. The Parasuramesvara temple at Attirala was developed as an Ekavira Kshetra in these times. We see a seated Kakati and standing Ekavira (?) at Attirala. Kakati has her usual attributes though she is more Chola in her thin jewelry and coiffeur. Her corpse-seat is not seen nor her symbol. A snake winds round a staff in the hands of the standing figure. Along with a Visveswara linga, Visvesvara

sambhu of the group of Rudramma's religious preceptors installed a big Kakati figure in Somasila. It is of white sandstone and the broken pieces of a Veerabhadra figure lying there show that the place was a fullfledged Saiva centre.

The temple of Bhadrakali in Hanumakonda is believed to be due to Rudramma. The figure of the deity today is a big painted Chamunda in relief. We see a human body lying stretched under her seat and she has multiple hands. The temple and the image have been repaired a number of times but the corpse seat is fortunately retained to enable us to identify the family deity of the Kakatiyas. Bhadrakali, Veerabhadra's consort is not seen seated on a corpse and she is not endowed with multiple hands (we see a standing figure of hers in the annexe temple at Sangam in Nellore district). This Hanumakonda 'Bhadrakali' is actually Kakatamma, the guardian deity of the Kakatiyas.

VII. PRATAPARUDRADEVA

Prataparudra succeeded Rudramma in 1296 A.D. He was a soldier *par excellence*, comparable to Rudra and Prola. The powerful feudatory Ambadeva, who consolidated his position during Rudramma's early period, rebelled against Kakatiya authority and joined hands with the Pandyan king, a strong enemy of the Kakatiyas, hoping to establish independence. Prataparudra proceeded south reduced the Kurnool and northern Nellore districts, defeated the enemy confederacy, pursued the Pandyan to Jambukesvaram, (well known for its Pandyan gopuras) and established his overlordship. He had to parry the invasions of the Delhi Sultans and his life was mostly spent in fights. We do not hear of any major temples constructed during his reign in and around Warangal. Small temples of course rose throughout the empire. We hear of an Ishtakamesvari temple raised in Alluru and a *trikoota* for Ishtakamesvara, etc. at Kompedu in the Nellore district for the merit of that emperor. Tanguturu in the Pottapi region raised a temple and Palakkad near Arcot constructed a Parasuramakshetra. The Bodhan mosque was a stellate temple of those times and the Tekmal, Manoor, Mudimanikyam temples were raised in Prataparudra's times.

GAUTAMESHWARA OF MANTHANI

The Gautameshwara temple at Manthani was raised during Prataparudra's reign. There are several old temples in the town proper, but Gautameswara on the Godavary evolved elaborate ornamental sculpture indicating a final stage. It is a *trikoota* and a thousand-pillared type, in reddish white sandstone. The ground plan of the whole temple resembled that of Tarakesvara of Hangal, with a stellate mandapa at the beginning of a long platform leading to the common mandapa of the triple temple. The small temples on the pial raised at the corners of the square mukhamandapa at Palampet were fixed up here on either side of the antaralas (fig. 61,) of two of the three temples forming the *trikoota*. This is a significant change, which incorporates the minor-temple introduced by the Hoysalas as an ornament to the main temple at its entrance instead of the mandapa. On the architraves we see dancing Brahma, Ganapathi, Nataraja, Kali and Vishnu each with eight hands but not in the confused matrix of the Swayambhu Siva temple of Warangal. The over-all panel is not bald as in the architrave of Ramalingesvara of Mattewada, it is a characteristic arrangement of the figures in separate arches provided with over-hanging 'mango' creepers. On the vertical doorjamb of the antarala of the west-facing temple, we see on the perforated plate rising to a man's height, Jain figures in the Padmasana posture. Co-existence was not only tolerated, but turned into friendship. On the outer 'walls' of this temple, we see Narasimha, not with Lakshmi sitting on his thigh, but tearing out the intestines of the demon and wearing them as a garland in the Hoysala fashion. Naked Naginis, chowrie bearers, Vasudeva, Varuna on his Yali and Brahma are carved in relief. On the eastern face we see Andhakasurasamhara. Same figures greet us with a Changed arrangement on the south facing temple too. Vaishnavi on the Gautamesvara temple brings a cult deity out of her sanctified seat in the *saptamatrikas* into decorative art. [We had already seen Kakati adorning a whole frieze on the small *trikoota* to the west of the great temple in Palampet. The Kesava temple of the Warangal fort has a frieze of Yogavishnu.] More explicit is a fragment (fig. 45a) of sculpture seen in the Warangal fort,

showing Vishnu with Garuda on his right, Varahaswami with an elephant as vehicle (the two nostrils showing clearly rule out Ganesa unless one can feel that they are only holes to receive the tusks, which are broken in this figure), and Surya with his seven horses below his feet. The upper half of the panel with its mixed curves is in a happy contrast with the lower half of horizontal and vertical bands. Stillness and motion arrested in juxtaposition to make a brilliant panel of sculpture! In the Siddhesvara temple in the village Manthani, we see a Hoysala, Venugopala, and Mahishamardani carved on a pillar. History, society, purana and religion came freely into the imagination of the sculpture and got beautifully fixed on stone.

The Narasimha temple at Bejjanki contains beautiful work of art. That village is about ten miles to Siddipet on the Hyderabad Karimnagar road. It has the general plan of Sambhunigudi with a garbhagriha, antarala and ardhmandapa with doors on the three sides (Doors became a necessity to protect temple properties and we read in a Karempudi record of those days that a devotee donated doors to a temple along with other gifts). The door-way of the antarala has a stone shade advancing onward in three steps and the sikhara of the temple is stepped. In the centre of the mandapa is the natyaranga or circular platform with the pillars at the corners profusely carved. The inner roof of the natyaranga has the lion face (Keertimukha) decoration, as the Kesava temple of Warangal fort should have had (judging from the large number of triangular ceiling pieces carrying the lion face ornament, lying scattered in the pit). There is the pial all round the mandapa, and stone 'pillows' to lean on while sitting on the pial. This description shows that this temple must have been built just like any Kakatiya temple was. It must have been built during the Kakatiya times. The sculpture however, has novel features. Fig. 63, pl. V is the familiar huntress but she and her mate are short and stout unlike the Kakatiya huntress and her friend. The dancers too are short. This is due to the influence of Jain painting wherein the dancers are short and stout. The deities wear crowns with rings arranged as the triple umbrellas are, above the tirthankaras of Malkhed. Bejjanki is nearer to Malkhed than Warangal is and the influence of Jaina art of Bodhan (Podanapura) on its sculpture is no wonder. The temple sikhara, and the pial in the mandapa are Jain influences. The panel with Siva seated on a pedestal and Vishnu and Brahma standing on either side indicates the darshan given by Lord Siva to those 'smaller' gods after they failed to find the bounds of the jyotirlinga. This representation is not usually found in Kakatiya sculpture. The figures are realistic, and are devoid of any potent sign of divinity. All this can clearly be understood if we remember that Jains might have carved these figures. However, it is a happy feature that devotees were given smaller size than the Lord, and symbols and weapons are seen to be getting more realistic. Hanuman near Narasimha is amusing; it was only after the spread of Madhwadwaita that Hanuman sprung into importance.

Chimakurti in the Guntur district was a famous centre for sculpture. Krishna and his consorts Rukmini and Satyabhama in bronze preserved in the Madras Museum were made in Chimakurti. Looking at the musicians in fig. 45 c, and the above bronzes, one is tempted to attribute the Chimakurti bronzes to the period of the Kakatiyas and that, to the times of Prataparudra. He ought to be credited with a catholic spirit and not any kind of religious antagonism to Jainism or Vaishnavism as he patronised one Appayarya, who composed a long poem Jinendrakalyanabhyudayam and also Krishnamacharya who composed several devotional praises to Simhagiri Narahari (Prataparudra was a Chalukyan by

birth, and Kakatiya only by adoption). The dress, slimness and poses of the Chimakurti bronzes is strongly suggestive of the Kakatiya practice. The Reddis, who succeeded them in southern Andhra region favoured the carving of portraits in stone and the dress of Anavemareddy standing before the western mandapa of Daksharama is suggestive of the Kakatiya practice.

In and around Warangal and the Hyderabad Museum we see today neatly carved sculptures installed in temples of those times. The Yoga Narasimha of Hanumakonda (fig. 62) is carved according to the Chalukyan practice (seen in red sandstone in the Rajanarayana temple of Kumararama near Samalkot) with realistic touch. Brahma in the temple near the library, is carved in high relief but is big enough. The asrik and pasa which he holds are conventional but the veena he plays is a legacy of his better half. Brahma is rarely seen getting into a musical mood. The lady to his left, playing a similar instrument could be Saraswati. The tribhanga pose is seen to be characteristic. A Saraswati (fig. 64) was found very recently in Warangal, while the merchants association were getting an excavation done for a building of their own. The over-all height of that figure in bold relief is 2 feet and width 1.5 feet. The soft stone selected for the sculptures of gods did not lend itself for mega-sculpture. We see huge dwarapalas carved in granite for the Kesavaswayambhu temple in the Warangal fort and except the Siva figure, whose head is now seen in the scattered pieces of the above temple, we do not see any Kakatiya mega sculpture, done in Chloritic schist. The carving of this Saraswati is quite realistic though the face is not inspiring. The big petals of the lotus seat are like the Bejjanki lotus petals of the seat of Brahma. She holds an elephant goad and a pasa in her upper hands and a rosary of beads and a book in her lower hands. The parikara is hollowed out to project her body into high relief and the prabha round her head is like a toothed wheel, as are the prabhas round the heads of gods on the architraves. The tiaras of her crown are ornamented. The frontal folds of her dress drooping down before her are conventional. It is surprising that the semi-circular parikara above her is not carved. Some observers said she is Gayathri but her single head contradicts that idea. The Kakatiya sculptors were very good at carving multiple heads and they always did for Brahma and Kumara. The Siraschakra appears lightly to have conformed to the tantric matrix of erect and inverted triangles but we do not see all the upper edges of the 'teeth' horizontal, which would have been the case if tantric suggestion was intended. The judicious hollowing out of the parikara successfully shows us the whole figure. The lack of this relief is keenly felt, when we look at the eight armed Vishnu of the Hyderabad Museum (fig. 65). The carving of that figure is excellent and the dwibhanga pose highly graceful. The face is happy and I very much wish that the space between the body outline and the weapons he holds was hollowed out. The pose is rare in the Kakatiya sculptures and reminds us of Avalokiteshwara. We see an Anantasayana at Kondiparti (fig. 66, Pl. XVI). This figure is neatly done. The coiffeur behind the head of Lakshmi serving the Lord is suggestive of a western Chalukyan origin for this sculpture. In Basava Kalyan, there are many figures of this type. The Warangal (ceiling) Anantasayana is also different from this in posture, weapons and jewelry.*

*By far the best preserved and beautifully carved figure available to us, is that of Paanchaala Raaya (fig. 67) from Haveli Shaayampet of Warangal taluq. It resembles the Chenna Keshava of Katakshapur in pose, ornaments, parikara and weapons, but is more idealistic than that one. The obvious unrest in that slim figure is not seen here, and the frontal poses of Garuda and the lady chouri-bearers are pleasing. The frolicsomeness of the Hoysala figures is absent too, while the gentle bend of the waists of the lady attendants as also of the buds in the deity's lower right hand, suggest live power to the still standing figure. The body curves are conventional and not too realistic to suggest the human form.

JAIN SCULPTURE

Jain sculpture underwent small changes and Jain traditions continued to get ramified in Prataparudra's reign. At the Padmakshi temple of Hanumakonda a novel Chauvisa tirthankara sculpture was added (fig. 11). It is like a votive temple (seen at Daksharama, Kumararama near Sankaramatha of Rajahmundry, etc.) but the garbhagriha alone is carved. Three tirthankaras stand on the four faces, two sit on the first storey and one at the sikhara. The pillars on either side are square pillars seen in Kakatiya temples. Outside the temple we see foundation for an unfinished Vasadi and a Trichchatra symbol in high relief with worshippers on either side. This is the solitary example of one of the *ashta-mangalas* of the tirthankaras being worshipped. We see the sculptures of lions on elephants (in imitation of the edges of the lion-throne) used as pillar brackets but that combination cannot be called an exclusively Jain motif. The trichchatra is found on Buddhist stupas but not the Buddha. Jains adopted this distinction over their tirthankaras. In Prataparudra's time trichchatra alone was carved for worship (fig. 11a). Prataparudra made the Velamas his trusted guards and assigned seventy two of them to the seventy-two guard posts of the fort wall. We see on the southern wall, a small temple with Kumbhandas sitting at the bottom of each of the vertical door jambs. They hold the tails of two fish with their two hands. The fish bite each other's jaws above the heads of these curious dwarapalas (fig. 12, Pl. II). The double fish motif is seen in Mathura (north) and the fish are just parallel there. Jain samadhis were marked by flat carved *nisidhis*, set up on the graves or in memory elsewhere, in the Kalyani Chalukya period. Here at Warangal square pillars of stone are used as *nisidhis* of the Jain dead. We see them arranged before the Chitaphkhan mahal. A Padmavathi seen in the Hyderabad Museum was perhaps one of the figures arranged in the garbhalaya of a Jain temple of those times.

Buddhist sculpture however, is not seen in the Kakatiya period. A very late practice of carving the figure of Buddha with an *ushnisha* and symbolic thin folds of the upper cloth is known, we see a figure like that in the Guntur Theosophical Lodge and another at Kota in the Nellore district. But, we cannot definitely say that they could have belonged to the Kakatiya period. However, references to a Buddhist Vihara are seen in Kreedabhirama, and Mallireddi of Bekkallu said in his record that 'to question which of Saiva, Vaishnava, Jain and Bauddha beliefs (*samaya* is the word employed) is best, is meaningless as God is after all one. So, he constructed temples for all. It was that catholic spirit that played in the hearts and art of the Kakatiyas and we find a thorough mixture of the traditions and beliefs of all these religions in the sculpture of the Kakatiya period. The figure of Chamunda and Renuka spread through the length and breadth of south India. Trikoota temples were raised in Chandavole, distant Kommipedu (in the Nellore district) and Pushpagiri. The Kakatiya method of covering mandapas by triangular stones was adopted for all small temples and figure brackets like the Kakatiya ones used in such a remote temple like the Daksharama one (for its southern mandapa). The long garland was carved with the dancers in Pattisam and Kumararama, and big nandis made at Daksharama, Vengi, Nidadavole, Sangam and several other places. Siva and Kesava temples are now built almost always together. Decorative sculpture on the temple walls was continued as pre-fabricated art in Korukonda, came to its own in small size at Hajararama in Hampi, Tadiparti, Penukonda, Chukkaluru, Lepakshi, Chundi, and many other temples of the Vijayanagar period. The monolithic manastambha erected during the Kakatiya period at Nagnur, Kolanupaka and Bekkallu grew to surprising heights at Chundi, Chippagiri, Pennahobalam and Somapalem. Kakatiya sculpture started the river of Andhra sculpture once more after it thinned down into pools of eastern Chalukyan sculpture since Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda.



Fig. 1 : GATEWAY IN HANUMAKONDA



*Fig. 2 : KAKATAMMA
AT MANDAPAKA*



Fig. 3 : CHAMUNDA AT HANUMAKONDA



Fig. 4 : KAMAKSHI
AT KANDUKURU



Fig. 5 : JALANDHARA BHAIRAVA AT INUGURTI



6 : *Fig.* ANNAPOORNA AT KALESVARAM



Fig. 8 : SARASWATI
AT AINAVOLU

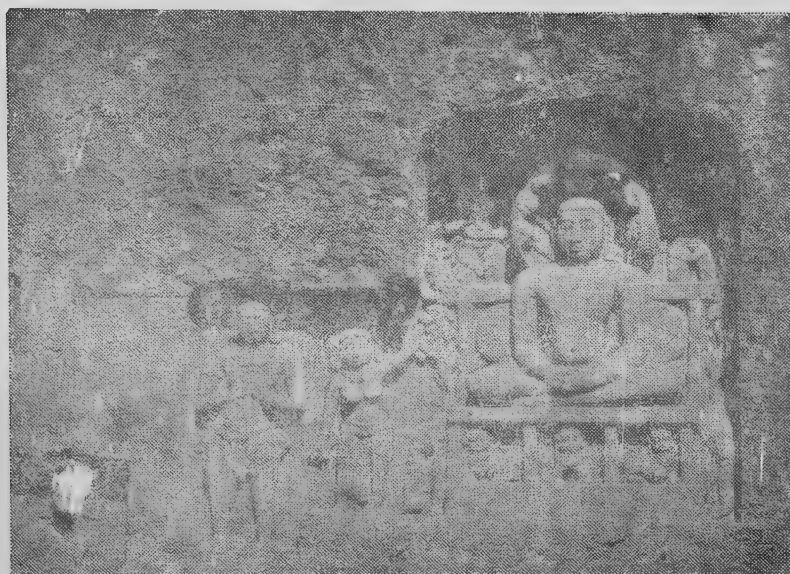


Fig. 7 : PARSVANADHA AT PADMAKSHI TEMPLE



Fig. 9 : VASUDEVA, THOUSAND PILLARED TEMPLE, HANUMAKONDA



Fig. 10 : VEERABHADRA AT HIDIMBASHRAMA

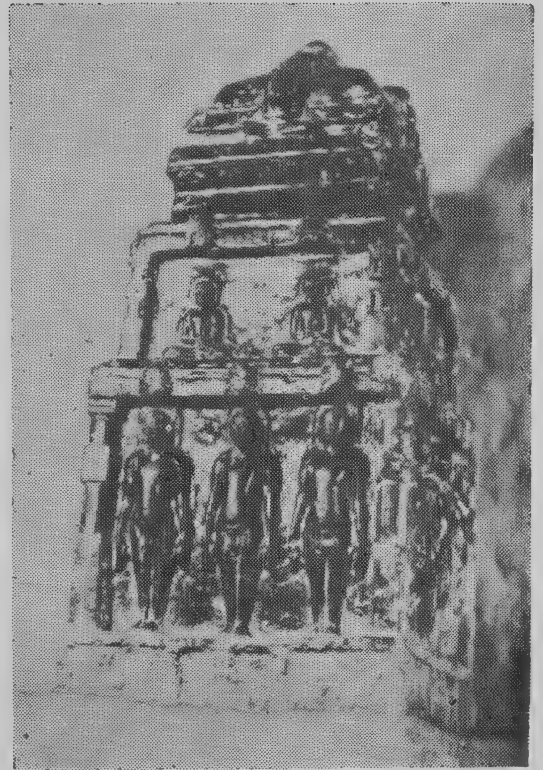
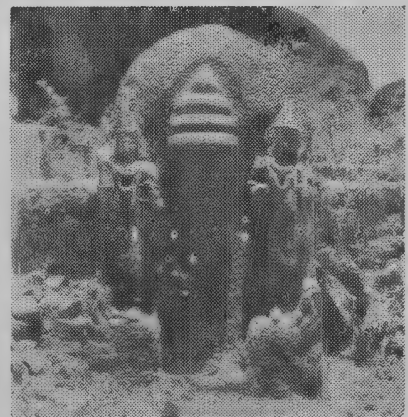


Fig. 11: CHAUVISA AT PADMAKSHI TEMPLE



*Fig. 11a: TRICHCHATRA WITH A
KALASA ON IT, PADMAKSHI TEMPLE,
HANUMAKONDA*

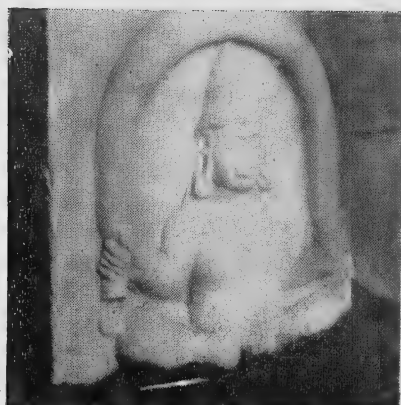


Fig. 12 : KUMBHANDA
FROM WARANGAL



Fig. 13 : GANESHA, KONDIPARTI



Fig. 14 : RAMAPPA TEMPLE, PALAMPET

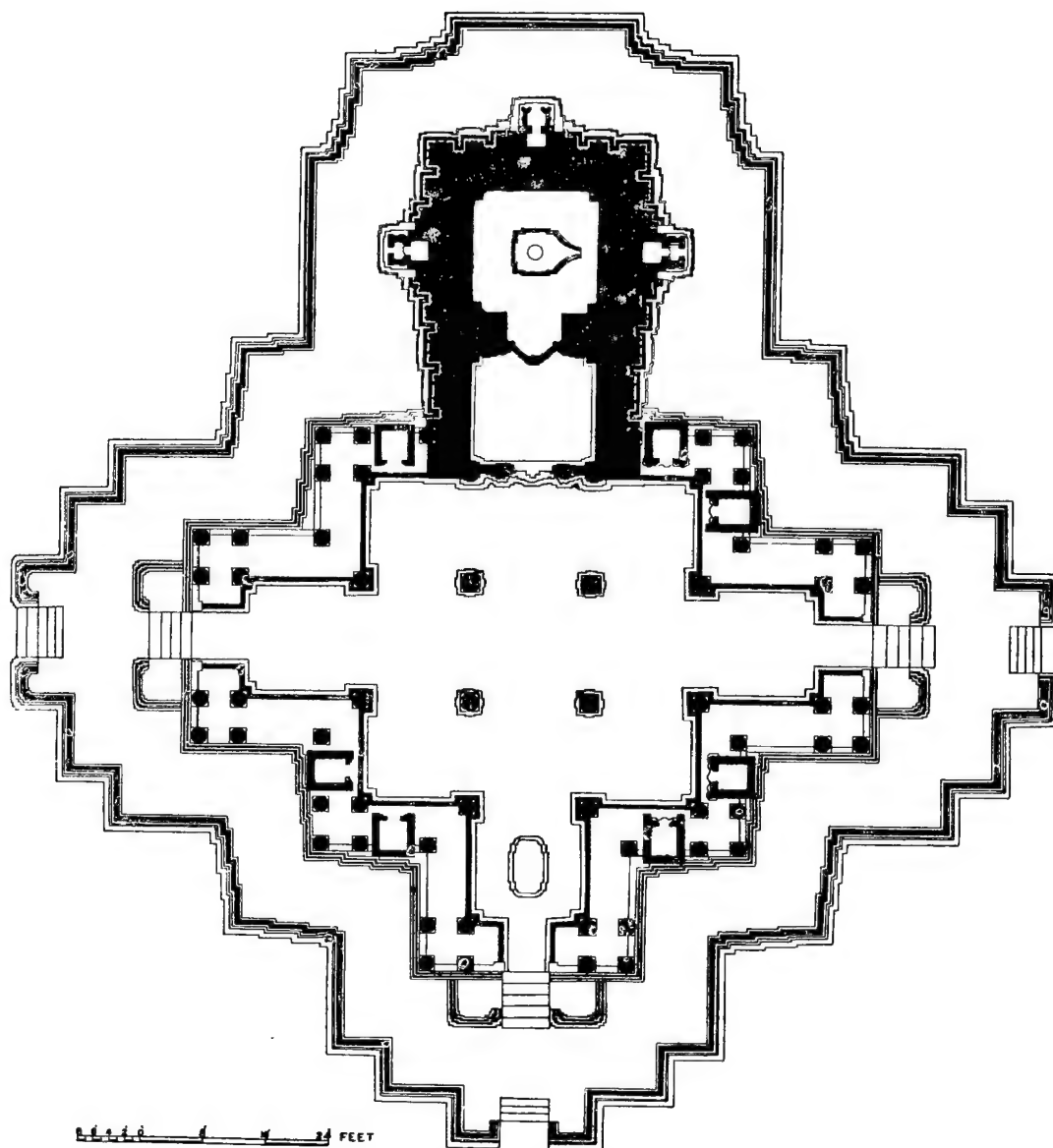


Fig. 14a : PLAN OF THE GREAT TEMPLE AT PALAMPET



Fig. 15 : PARAPET WALL OF MANDAPAM, PALAMPET

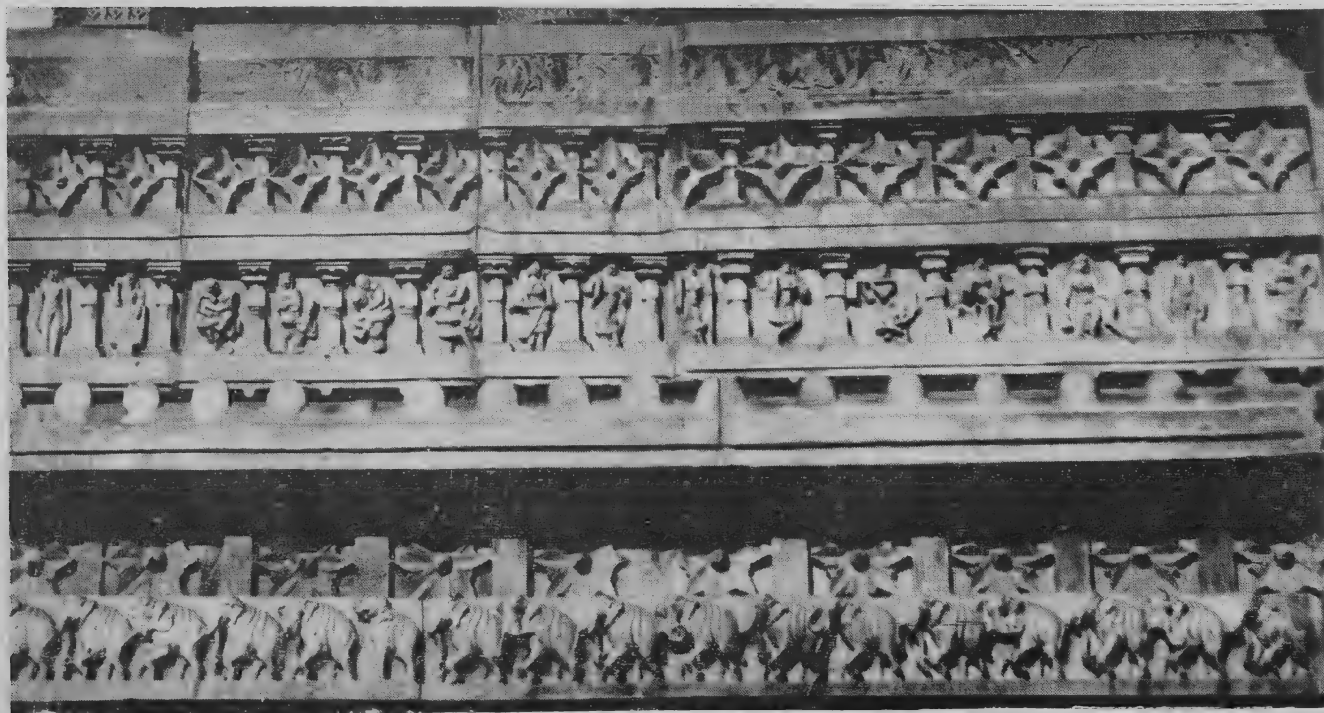


Fig. 16 : PARAPET WALL, PALAMPET



Fig. 17 : NAGINI (BRACKET), PALAMPET

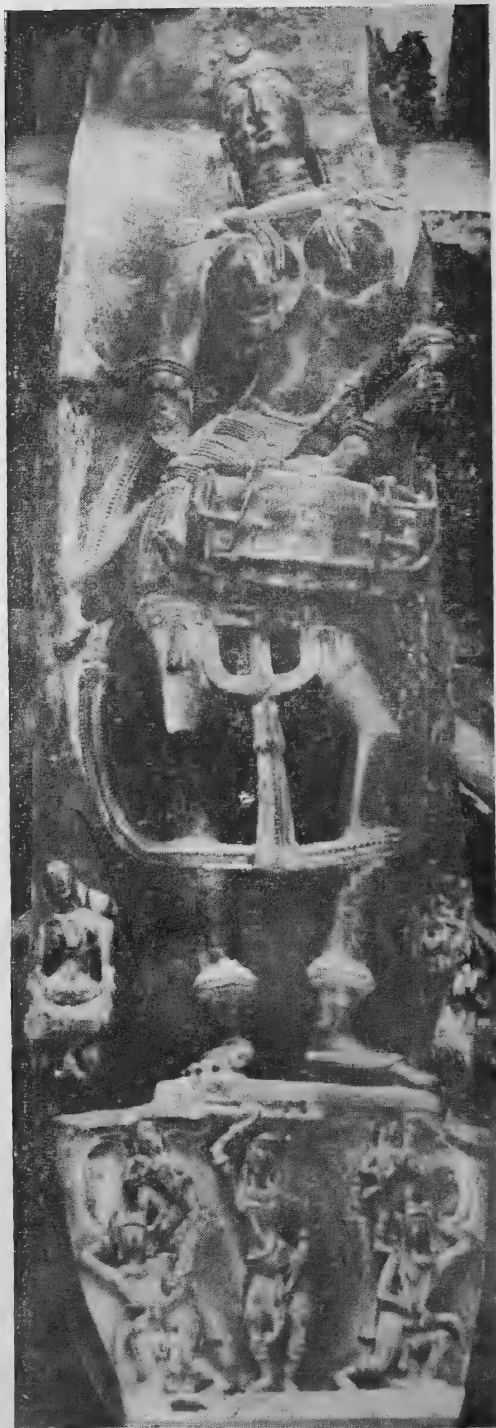


Fig. 18 : BRACKET FIGURE, PALAMPET



Fig. 19 : BRACKET FIGURE, PALAMPET



Fig. 20 : BRACKET FIGURE, PALAMPET



Fig. 21 : BRACKET FIGURE FROM PALAMPET



Fig. 22 : HUNTRESS AT PALAMPET



Fig. 22a: DOOR JAMB, JAKAARAM



Fig. 23 : NANDI AT PALAMPET



Fig. 24 : BEAM SCULPTURE, PALAMPET



Fig. 25 : MINI DANCERS AT PALAMPET



Fig. 26 : GROUP ON A DOOR-JAMB,
PALAMPET TEMPLE



Fig. 27 : BRACKET FIGURE, GHANPUR



Fig. 28 : CHENNAKESAVA, KATAKSHAPUR



Fig. 29 : DOOR JAMB. NAGNOOR



Fig. 30 : NAGULAPADU TEMPLE



Fig. 31 : CHATURMUKHA LINGA, WARANGAL



Fig. 32 : CHATURMUKHA LINGA AT KALESVARAM



Fig. 33 : DOOR JAMB, WARANGAL

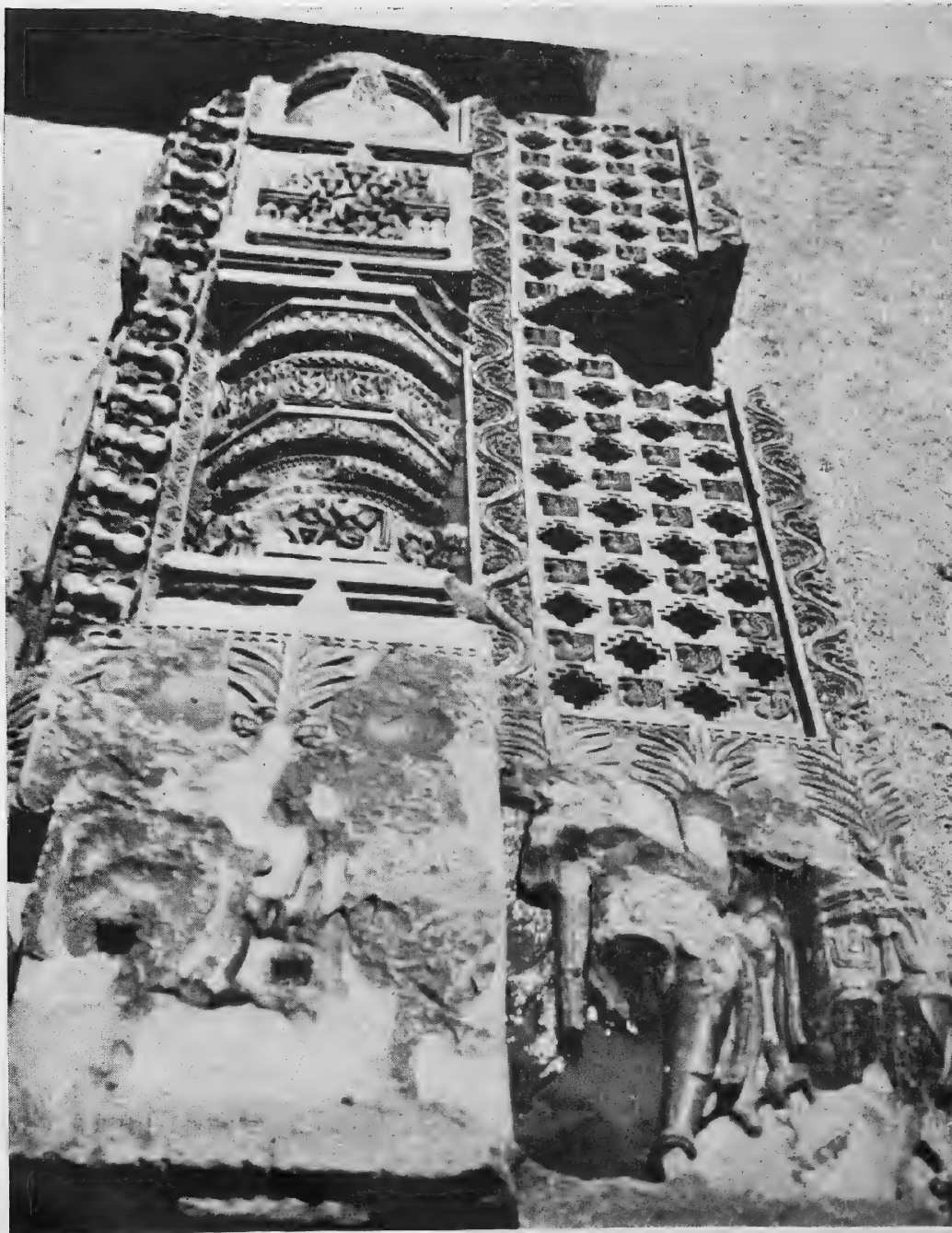


Fig. 34 : PILASTER AT THE DOOR JAMB, WARANGAL



Fig. 35 : ARCHITRAVE OF THE FORT TEMPLE, WARANGAL

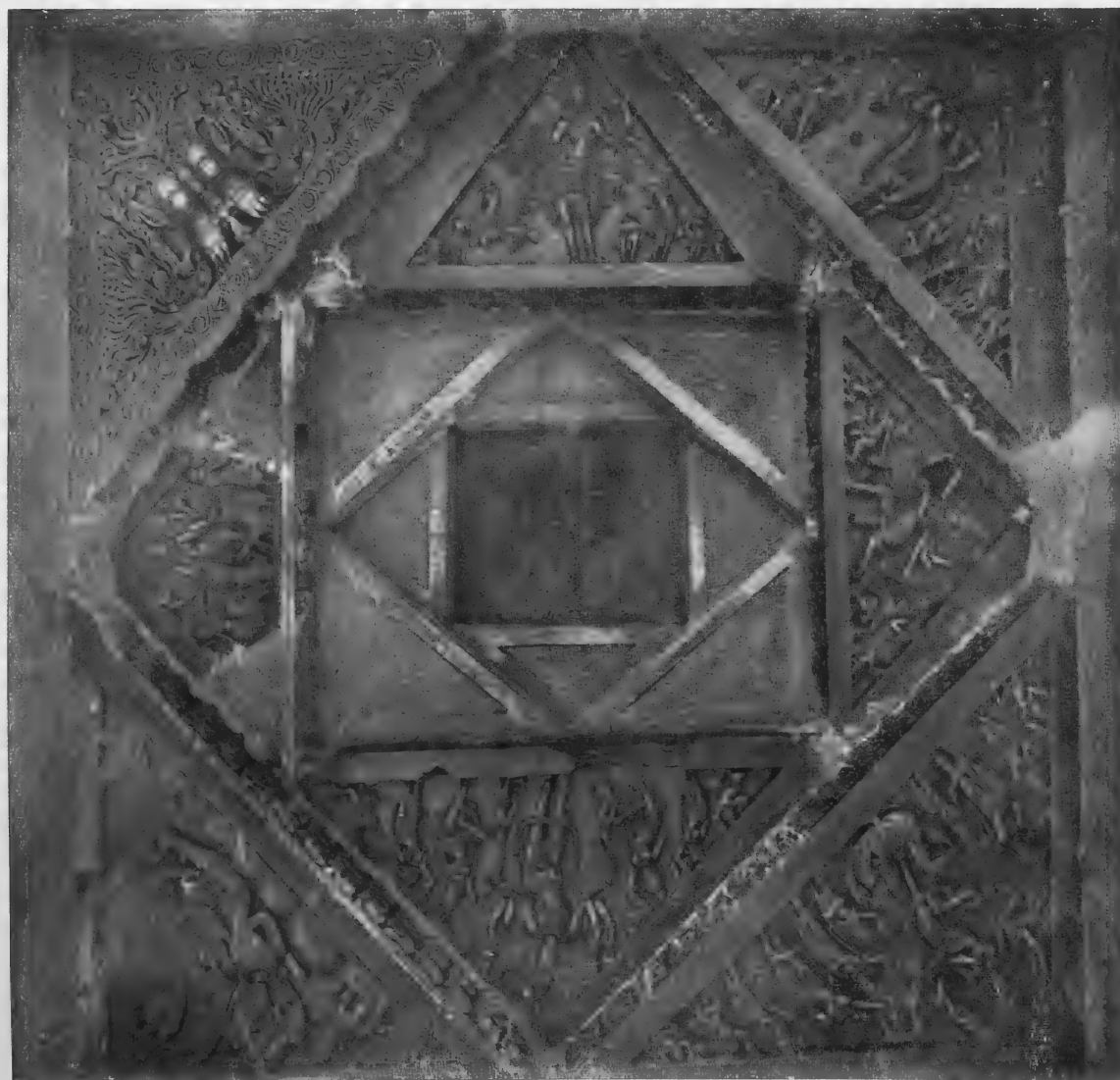


Fig. 36 : ROOF OF RANGA MANDAPA IN WARANGAL TEMPLE (NOW IN HYDERABAD STATE MUSEUM)



Fig. 37 : LAKSHMI AT WARANGAL



Fig. 38 : CROSS CAPITAL, WARANGAL

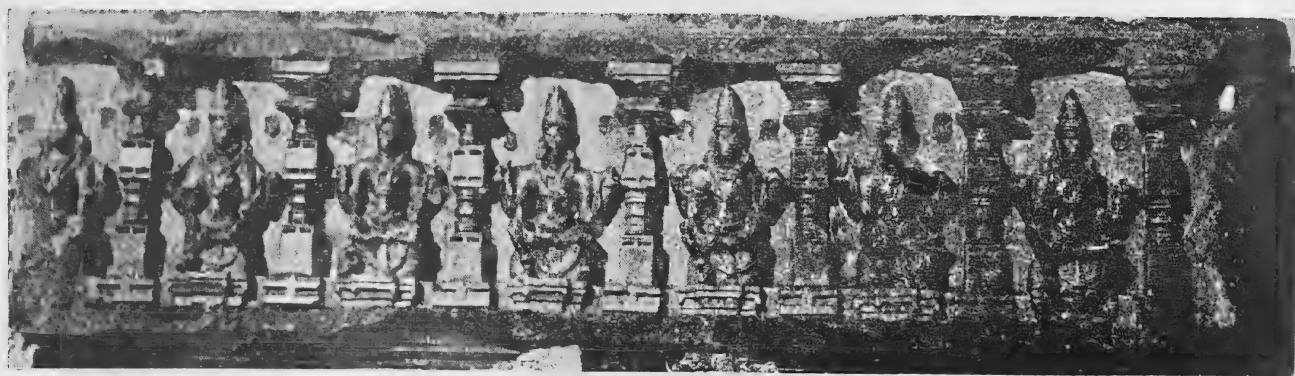


Fig. 39 : DECORATIVE PANEL : KESHAVA TEMPLE, WARANGAL



Fig. 40 : LION BRACKETS OF PILLARS



Fig. 41 : ELEPHANT AT THE ENTRANCE TO A TEMPLE, HANUMAKONDA



Fig. 42 : GATEWAY AT WARANGAL

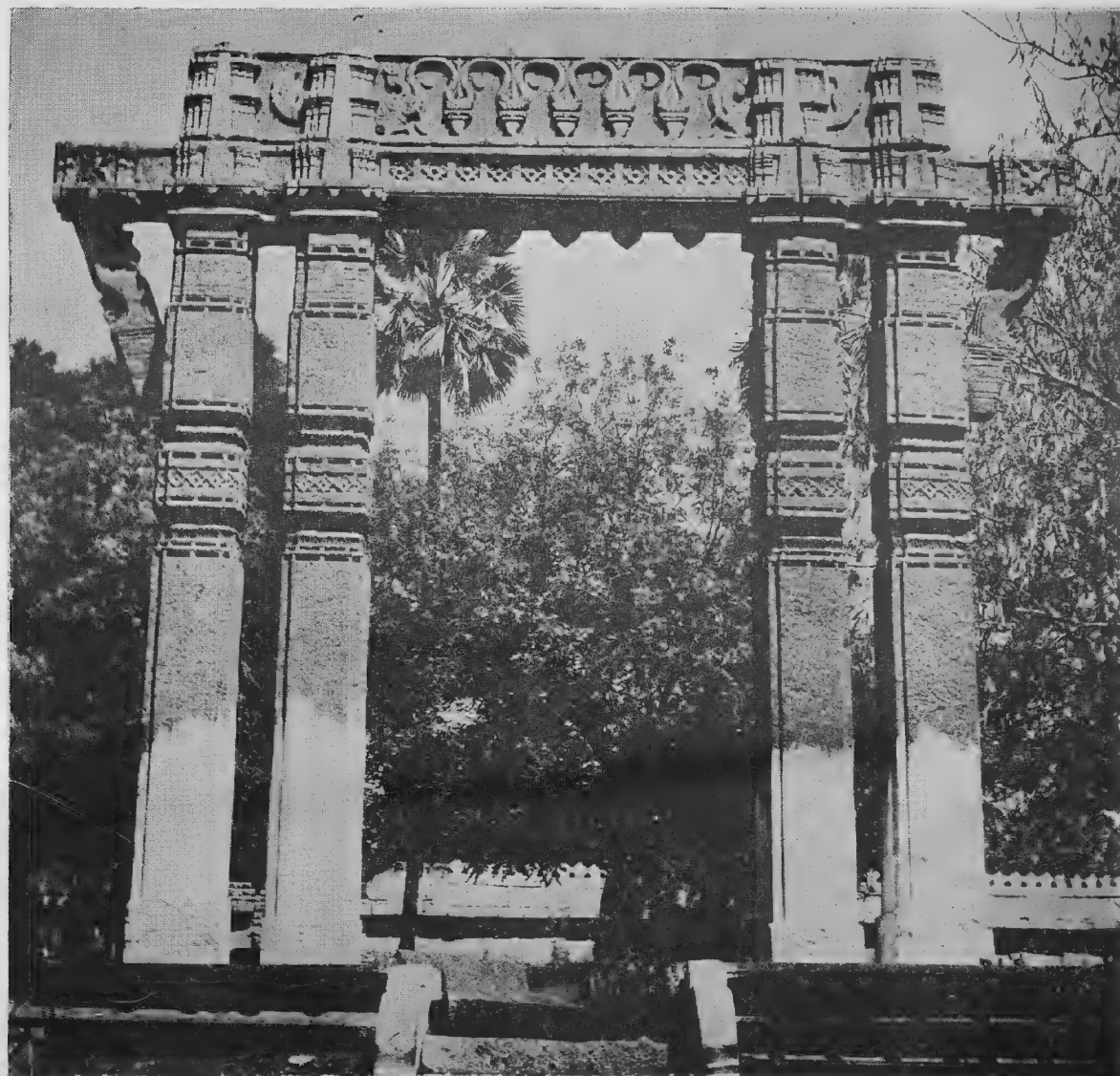


Fig. 43 : GATEWAY AT AINAVOLU

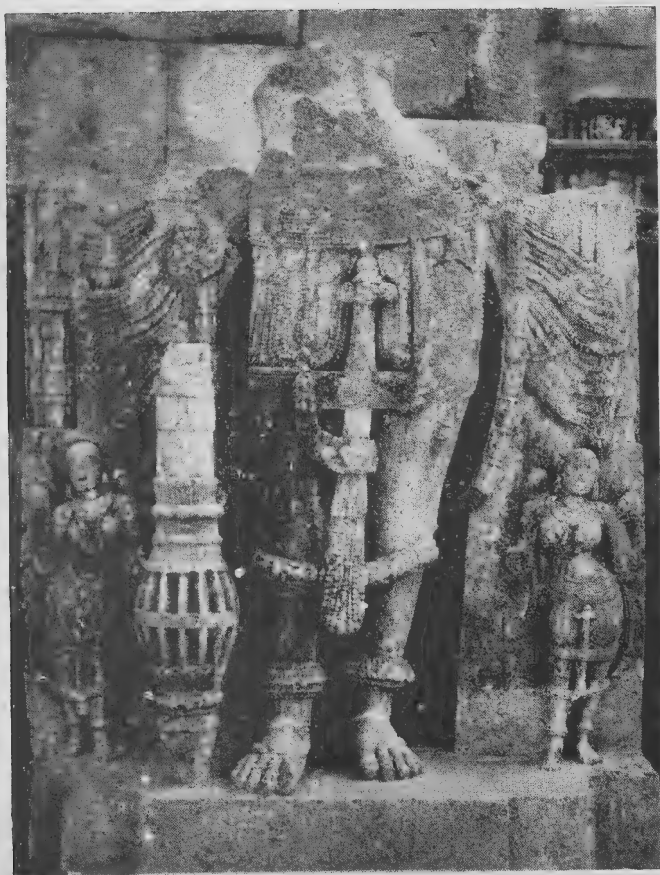


Fig. 44 : FRAGMENT OF KESAVA FIGURE



Fig. 45a : DECORATIVE PANELS, WARANGAL

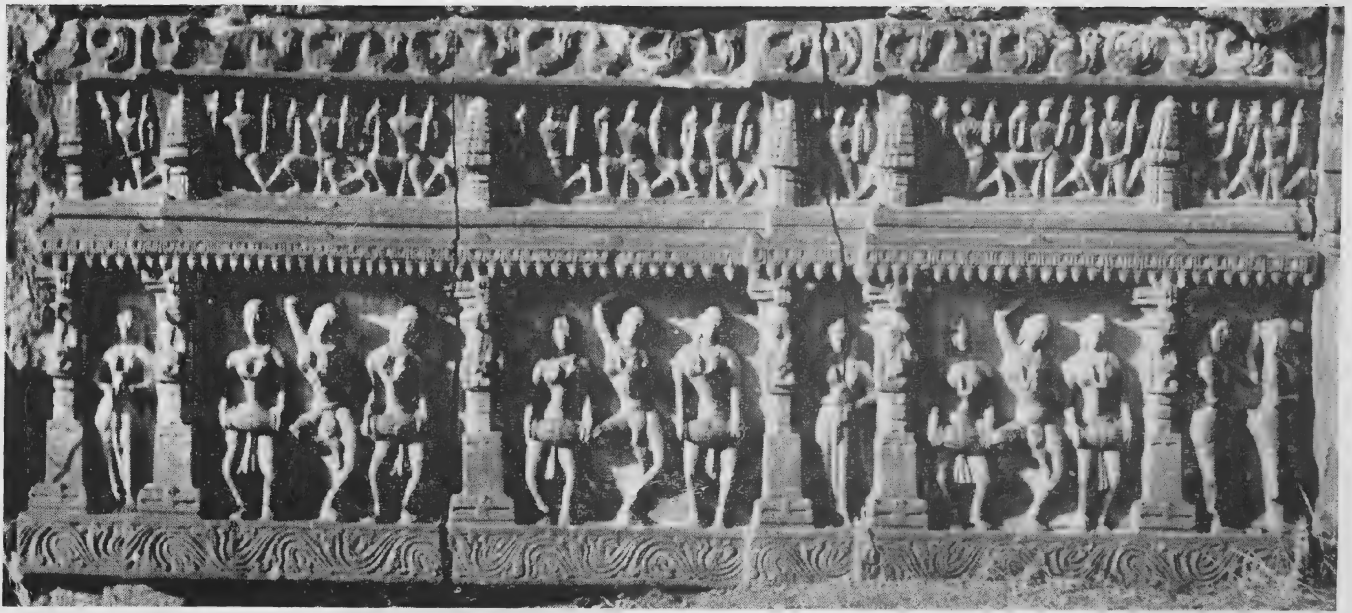


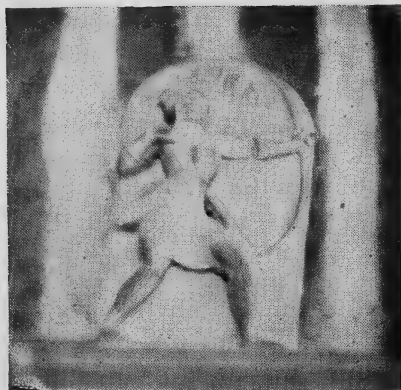
Fig. 45b : DECORATIVE PANELS, WARANGAL



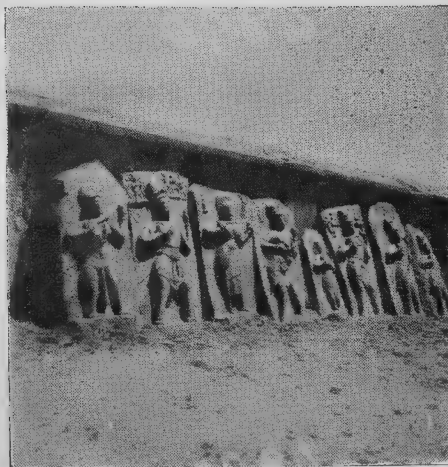
Fig. 45c : DECORATIVE PANELS, WARANGAL



Fig. 46 : VEERAGAL AT SOMASI



*Fig. 47 : PUSHPAGIRI SAIVITE
CRUSADER*



*Fig. 47a : VEERASAIVITE DEVOTEES
KEEPING THEIR VOWS*



Fig. 48 : VEERASAIVA DEVOTEES KEEPING THEIR VOWS

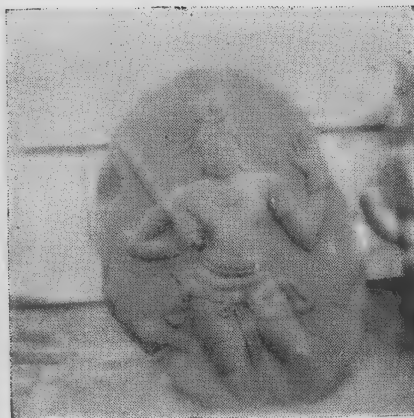


Fig. 49 : NELLORE VEERASAIVA





*Fig. 50: SAIVAITES TAKING OATHS,
RAYADURGAM*



*Fig. 51 : TAKING A VOW,
NELLORE*

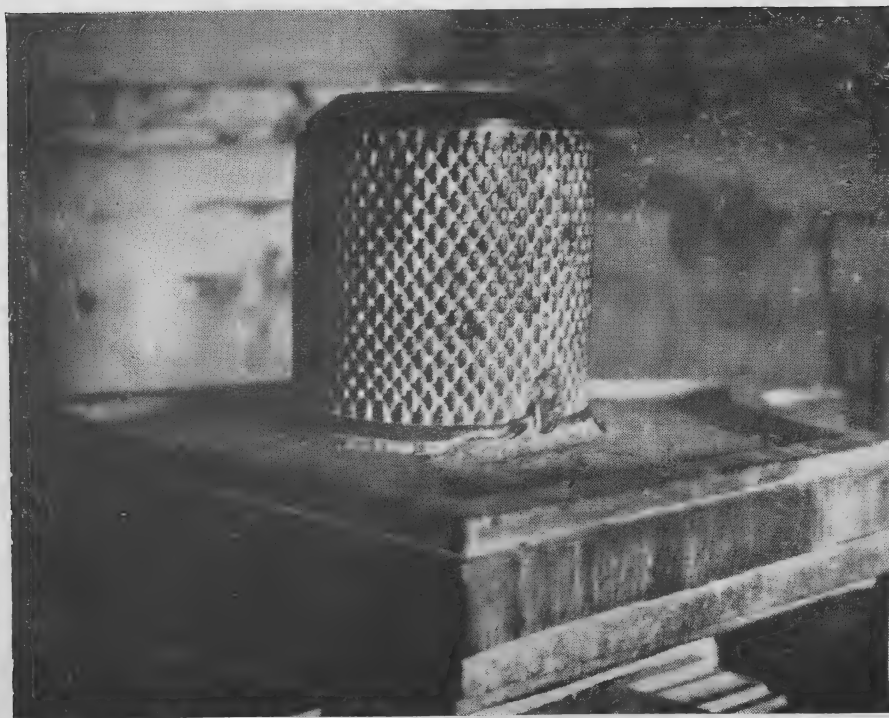


Fig. 52 : SAHASRA LINGA, WARANGAL



Fig. 53 : VEERABHADRA OF WARANGAL



Fig. 53a: VEERABHADRA FROM GOLKONDA



Fig. 54 : HEAD OF SIVA, WARANGAL



Fig. 55 : KUMARA : HYDERABAD MUSEUM



Fig. 56 : 'MACHALADEVI TEMPLE', MUD RAMPART, WARANGAL





Fig. 57 : VEERASAIVA KILLING JAINS



*Fig. 58: SAIVAITE BENDING A SWORD
AT PUSHPAGIRI (AND NELLORE TOO)*



*Fig. 59: COUPLE BURNING INCENSE
IN THEIR PALMS, PUSHPAGIRI.*



*Fig. 60 : SRICHAKRA AT
PUSHPAGIRI*



*Fig. 61: FACADE OF THE
ANTARALA, MANTHANI*



Fig. 62 : NARASIMHA, HANUMAKONDA



*Fig 63: PILLAR SCULPTURE
AT BEJJANKI*



Fig. 64 : SARASWATI, WARANGAL



Fig. 65 : VISHNU, HYDERABAD MUSEUM



Fig. 66 : ANANTASAYANA, KONDIPARTI



*Fig. 67 : PANCHALARAYA FROM HAVELI SAYAMPET
(BY COURTESY OF ENDOWMENT DEPT.)*